CICERO

THE LETTERS TO HIS FRIENDS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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IN THREE VOLUMES

II

LONDON

WILLIAM HEINEMANN LTD

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

MCMLXV

THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

CICERO

THE LETTERS TO HIS FRIENDS

II

First printed 1929
Reprinted 1948, 1952, 1959, 1965

Printed in Great Britain

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INTRODUCTION

This collection of Cicero's "Letters to his Friends" was preserved and edited by his secretary Tiro. The collection is inadequately entitled, as it includes several letters, some of them of profound interest, from his friends to Cicero. There are 426 letters, divided into sixteen books, not arranged in any sort of order,[a] chronological or otherwise, except that letters from or to particular correspondents are generally grouped together; the third book, for instance, consists exclusively of letters from Cicero to Appius Claudius Pulcher, and the eighth book of letters from Marcus Caelius Rufus to Cicero.

The earliest letter is one from Cicero to Pompey (x. 7) dated 62 B.C., the year after Cicero's consulship; the latest is one from him to Cassius (xii. 10) written in 43 B.C., the year after the assassination of Caesar, and a few months before his own.

These nineteen years from 62 to 43 B.C. cover a period of supreme importance in the history of the Roman Republic—a period more minutely described and vividly illustrated in these letters, giving us as they do the different points of view of various correspondents, than even in the "Letters to Atticus," written by Cicero alone.

[a] The confusion thus caused is to some extent obviated by a summary, in chronological order, prefixed to each volume, of the events in each year covered by the Letters.

INTRODUCTION

The Letters vary greatly in interest and style; while many of them contain matter of the highest literary or historical value—as, for instance, Cicero's explanation of his political change of front (i. 9), Sulpicius Rufus's letter of condolence to Cicero on the death of his daughter Tullia (iv. 5) and Matius's defence of his friendship for Caesar (xi. 28)—others are no more than merely formal documents.

The text is based on that of Nobbe (1849); but where there was an obvious call for emendation in that text I have not hesitated to adopt other readings, always with due acknowledgement.

Such universally accepted orthographical corrections as *cum* for *quum*, *consili* for *consilii*, and *causa* for *caussa* I have made as a matter of course.

To Tyrrell and Purser's exhaustive (it has rightly been described as "monumental") *Commentary on the Correspondence of Cicero*[a] I have made constant reference, and owe more than I can tell; I have depended upon it, too, for the dates of the letters. Watson's *Select Letters* (with the recently revised edition by Mr. W. W. How), and Pritchard and Bernard's *Selected Letters for the use of Schools* have been of invaluable assistance to me, and I have freely consulted the admirable translations of all or some of the letters by E. S. Shuckburgh, G. E. Jeans, and S. H. Jeyes.

To all the above distinguished Ciceronians I acknowledge with gratitude my very deep indebtedness.

[a] Referred to in my notes for the sake of brevity as "Tyrrell."

The Manuscripts

The oldest and soundest MS. of the *Epistulae ad Familiares* is the Codex Mediceus 49. 9, now in the Laurentian Library at Florence. This is known as M. Other MSS., each giving some of the letters, are:

G, Codex Harleianus 2773, in the British Museum.
R, Codex Parisianus 17812, in the Bibliothèque Nationale.
(G and R are closely connected, and both independent of M.)
T, Codex Turonensis 688, in the Library of Tours.
H, Codex Harleianus 2682, in the British Museum.
F, Codex Erfurtensis, now Berolinensis, 252, which closely follows H.
D, Codex Palatinus, originally at Heidelberg, now in the Vatican.

Of these M alone contains all the *Epistulae ad Familiares*, G, R, and T giving different portions of Bks. I. to VIII., and H, F, and D of Bks. IX. to XVI

A CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN THE LIFE OF CICERO

DATE B.C.

106. Cicero is born on Jan. 3 near Arpinum.

89. Serves under Cn. Pompeius Strabo in the Marsic War.

86. Writes his *De inventione*.

80. Delivers his speech *Pro Sex. Roscio Amerino*.

79-78. Travels in Greece and Asia.

77. Returns to Rome, and marries Terentia.

75-74. Serves as quaestor for Lilybaeum in Sicily.

70. Accuses Verres. First Consulship of Pompey and Crassus.

69. Curule aedile.

66. Praetor. Speech *Pro lege Manilia*.

64. Elected Consul with C. Antonius Hybrida (the latter by a small majority over Catiline).

63 B.C.

§ **1.** Cicero, being now consul, successfully opposes the agrarian law of the tribune P. Servilius Rullus, which was in the interests of Caesar and Crassus, and

intended to check the growing power of Pompey. Caesar is elected Pontifex Maximus. Cicero carries in the Senate the proposal of a *supplicatio* of unusual length to Pompey in honour of his eastern triumphs.

§ 2. Having conciliated his colleague C. Antonius by resigning to him the governorship in 62 of the rich province of Macedonia, Cicero felt himself able in the autumn of 63 to oppose the treasonable designs of L. Sergius Catilina, of which he had full information from the spy, L. Curius. In the consular elections for 62 Catiline was again defeated. On October 21 Cicero foretold the rising of the Catilinarian Manlius in Etruria on the 27th. Martial law was proclaimed, and the conspirators failed in an attempt to seize Praeneste on November 1, and another plot to murder Cicero was exposed. But Catiline had the audacity to appear in the Senate on November 8, when Cicero so crushingly denounced him that he left Rome to take command of the insurgents in Etruria.

§ 3. Certain envoys of the Allobroges, having been approached by the conspirators to supply Catiline with cavalry, were arrested, and on the strength of incriminating letters found upon them the following five conspirators were seized and imprisoned—P. Lentulus Sura (praetor), C. Cethegus (senator), L. Statilius, P. Gabinius Cimber, and M. Caeparius; and at a meeting of the Senate on December 5, mainly at the instance of M. Cato, though Caesar, then praetor elect, was opposed to it, a decree was carried that the five conspirators arrested should be put to death, and that same evening they were strangled under Cicero's supervision.

§ 4. On December 29 the tribune Q. Metellus Nepos vetoed Cicero's address to the people on going out of office, alleging that "he had put citizens to death without a trial"; but Cicero's declaration that he had thereby saved his country was received with applause. This Metellus was one of Pompey's officers and was probably instigated by his general, who was chagrined that Cicero, and not he, should have quelled the conspiracy.

62 B.C.

Consuls: D. Junius Silanus and L. Licinius Murena

§ 1. Catiline, making for Cisalpine Gaul with Manlius's army, is met by Metellus Celer and thrown back on the army of C. Antonius. In a battle near Pistoria the insurgents were utterly and finally defeated, and Catiline slain.

§ 2. Cicero resents Pompey's lukewarm appreciation of his services to the Republic (v. 7).

§ 3. In December P. Claudius Pulcher, commonly known as Clodius, "one of the most profligate characters of a profligate age," disguised as a female musician profaned the mysteries of the Bona Dea, which were being celebrated by Roman matrons at the house of Caesar. He was discovered and brought to trial in 61.

61 B.C.

Consuls: M. Pupius Piso and M. Valerius Messalla Niger

§ 1. Pompey, having returned from the east and disbanded his army in the preceding December,

addressed the Roman people in January of this year, but failed to create a good impression. He disapproved of the bill for Clodius's prosecution, and being distrusted by the extremists in the Senate, found himself so isolated that he made overtures to Cicero.

§ 2. The consul Pupius Piso also opposed the bill for an inquiry into Clodius's affair, but the trial ultimately came on, with the result that by means of the grossest bribery Clodius was acquitted. Cicero had given evidence cancelling an alibi put up by Clodius, who swore to be avenged upon him, and proved to be a formidable foe, owing to his family connexions, and his influence over the city populace.

60 B.C.

Consuls: L. Afranius and Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer

§ 1. Led by the consul Metellus Celer, now at enmity with Pompey for having divorced his half-sister Mucia, the Senate, by obstinately opposing Pompey's plans in Asia and grants of land to his veterans, completely alienated him, and by refusing all concessions to the *publicani* in Asia offended the *equites* from among whom the *publicani* were mainly drawn. Pompey was ultimately forced into a coalition with Caesar, who returned to Rome in June to canvass for the consulship, which by the aid of Pompey and Crassus he secured.

§ 2. The *optimates*, however, brought about by bribery the election as Caesar's colleague of

M. Calpurnius Bibulus, a staunch aristocrat, but a *fainéant* consul.

§ 3. Caesar, having effected the reconciliation of Pompey and Crassus, now invited Cicero to join them, but he preferred to retain his independence, and the coalition (incorrectly called the first triumvirate) of Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus, to which he might have belonged, was established without him.

59 B.C.

Consuls: C. Julius Caesar and M. Calpurnius Bibulus

§ 1. Caesar, having failed to carry through the Senate an agrarian law providing *inter alia* for Pompey's veterans, brought another law before the assembly of the people distributing the *ager Campanus* among those veterans, and this law was carried despite the opposition of the consul Bibulus and some of the tribunes.

§ 2. P. Vatinius, one of the most unprincipled men of the time, was a humble hireling of Caesar, and now as tribune he carried the famous Lex Vatinia, which gave Caesar the command of Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum with three legions for five years; and the Senate, on the motion of Pompey (now, by his marriage with Julia, Caesar's son-in-law), added Transalpine Gaul to his command, with a fourth legion.

§ 3. In March Cicero, in defending his former colleague C. Antonius, who was accused of extortion as proconsul of Macedonia, attacked the triumvirate, causing grave offence to Caesar, who immediately

retaliated by sanctioning the adoption into a plebeian family of Cicero's enemy Clodius, thus making him eligible for the tribunate, where he would be in a stronger position to wreak his vengeance on Cicero.

58 B.C.

Consuls: L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus and Aulus Gabinius

§ 1. Clodius, who had been elected tribune in the preceding October, having carried some very popular measures in January, further established his position in February by promulgating a law assigning to the consuls on their going out of office the provinces they most desired—Syria to Gabinius, and Macedonia with Achaia to Piso,—but he made the law contingent upon the passing of two other measures which were subsequently carried—(1) a commission giving to Cato the annexation of Cyprus, and (2) an enactment "that anyone who had put Roman citizens to death without a trial should be forbidden fire and water."

§ 2. Cicero, realizing that the enactment was aimed at himself, put on mourning and threw himself on the mercy of the people. The senators and *equites* also went into mourning, but were compelled by an edict of the consuls to dress as usual. Caesar stated in public that he thought Cicero had acted illegally in putting Lentulus Sura to death, and Pompey, on being appealed to, referred Cicero to the consuls, who had already shown their hostility. Finally Cicero, at the instance of his family and Hortensius, left Rome and went into exile at the end of March. He was immediately declared an outlaw by Clodius,

and his house on the Palatine and villas at Formiae and Tusculum were pillaged and dismantled.

§ 3. Cicero went to Brundisium and thence to Thessalonica, where he sojourned for seven months at the house of his friend, the quaestor Cn. Plancius. As the year went on the situation at Rome became brighter for him; Clodius had offended Pompey by aiding the escape from Rome of the Armenian prince Tigranes whom Pompey had captured, by defeating the consul Gabinius in a street riot, and even forcing Pompey to shut himself up in his house. Moreover, Lentulus Spinther, one of the consuls elected, was personally devoted to Cicero, and the other, Metellus Nepos, a friend of Pompey; while among the new tribunes T. Annius Milo, T. Fadius, and P. Sestius strenuously advocated Cicero's recall. His son-in-law also, C. Calpurnius Piso, who had married Cicero's daughter Tullia in 63, and was now quaestor, exercised what influence he had in the interests of his father-in-law.

57 B.C.

Consuls: P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther and Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos

§ 1. No sooner had the consul Lentulus entered into office on January 1 than he brought before the Senate, with the approval of Pompey, the question of Cicero's recall; and despite the obstruction of two of the tribunes, the people, led by Fabricius and all the praetors (except Appius Claudius Pulcher, Clodius's brother), passed in their Assembly (the *comitia centuriata*) on January 23 a provisional decree recalling Cicero. The Senate thanked Cn. Plancius and others for sheltering Cicero in his

banishment, and summoned the Italians to vote finally for his recall in the Assembly, and the bill was carried with enthusiastic unanimity on August 4, the voters being protected from Clodius and his armed ruffians by troops under the command of Milo.

§ 2. Cicero, who had come down to Dyrrachium in the preceding autumn, now crossed over to Brundisium, where he was informed by his brother Quintus of the passing of the decree for his recall, and, after a triumphal progress homeward, re-entered Rome amid universal rejoicings on September 4.

§ 3. Later on, on the motion of Cicero, Pompey is granted the *imperium* in the form of the control of the corn supply (*curatio rei annonariae*) for five years; and on the expiry of their terms of office Lentulus receives Cilicia, and Nepos Hither Spain, as his province.

§ 4. Ptolemy Auletes (the Flute-player), king of Egypt, father of Cleopatra, having been expelled by his subjects, comes to seek the assistance of Rome, and the Senate decrees that his restoration should be entrusted to the next governor of Cilicia, *i.e.* the then consul, Lentulus Spinther.

56 B.C.

Consuls: Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, who supported the optimates *and opposed the triumvirs*; *and L. Marcius Philippus, who later married Atia, widow of C. Octavius, and so became the stepfather of Augustus*

§ 1. In January the question of the restoration of Ptolemy Auletes is reopened and hotly debated in the Senate, and Cicero sends Lentulus, now proconsul of Cilicia, a full account of the voting. Pompey,

though ostensibly supporting the claims of Lentulus to effect the restoration, was anxious to secure for himself a commission which would not only be highly lucrative, but would give him a fleet, an army, and a base in Egypt. Cicero felt bound to support his benefactor Lentulus, and the majority of the Senate were afraid or jealous of Pompey, when, very opportunely for them, the tribune C. Cato discovered a Sibylline oracle, forbidding the restoration of Ptolemy by anyone *cum multitudine hominum* ("with a host of men"). This is the *religio* referred to in Bk. i. 2 and 3. The wranglings in the Senate ended in no settlement, but Ptolemy was ultimately restored by A. Gabinius in 55.

§ 2. Clodius, who still lorded it in the streets of Rome, escaped being prosecuted by Milo by being elected curule aedile, and turned the tables on Milo by accusing him in February of *vis* (breach of the peace). Pompey, when defending Milo, was shouted down by Clodius's ruffians, who declared that Crassus, and not Pompey, should restore Ptolemy. This led Pompey to suspect that Crassus was aiding and abetting the rioters. The result of the trial was the closer alliance of Pompey and Milo, and the more definite support of Clodius by the extreme aristocrats—Curio, Bibulus, Favonius, and others.

§ 3. Later in February, Cicero, in defending P. Sestius, who had strongly favoured his recall, and was now accused of *vis*, made his speech (as Watson describes it) "a regular political manifesto," and converted his *interrogatio* (cross-examination) of P. Vatinius, now a witness for the prosecution, into a bitter attack upon him as the author of the Lex Vatinia in 59 (see 59 B.C., § 2). The acquittal

of Sestius encouraged Cicero to hope for the restoration of the Republic, or at any rate the dissolution of the coalition, Pompey being still at feud with Crassus (§ 2) and jealous of Caesar.

§ 4. Cicero therefore, partly with a view of widening the breach between Pompey and Caesar, proposed the suspension of Caesar's law about the *ager Campanus* (see 59 B.C., § 1) on the grounds that the State could not afford any more allotments. This would not affect Pompey, whose veterans had already been provided for, whereas Caesar would be precluded from using the remaining land for his own veterans. He also saw that the repeal of the agrarian law would be followed by that of the Vatinian.

§ 5. Having therefore previously interviewed Crassus at Ravenna, Caesar took him with him to join Pompey at Luca, a town of Liguria in N. Italy; and here the coalition of 60 (see 60 B.C., § 3) was not only renewed but developed into an omnipotent triumvirate who could settle the affairs of the State at their own discretion.

§ 6. This to Cicero, the Republican, and lifelong advocate of *concordia ordinum* ("the harmony of the senatorial and equestrian orders"), was a crushing political calamity, but he had to bow to the inevitable, and the famous letter 9 in Bk. I. is his *apologia* for his change of front. Withdrawing his motion on the *ager Campanus*, he supported a motion in the Senate to provide pay for Caesar's troops and allowing him to appoint ten *legati*. This was followed by his brilliant speech *De provinciis consularibus*, practically a panegyric upon Caesar and his achievements in Gaul.

§ 7. Clodius's turbulence in 56–57 had estranged Pompey, who now leaned to the side of Milo, but the extreme *optimates* (including M. Cato, who was indebted to Clodius for a commission to settle the affairs of Cyprus in 58) showed such fulsome partiality for Clodius, that Cicero, being earnestly requested by Caesar, whom he could not now disobey, to undertake the defence of Vatinius, whom he particularly detested, adroitly converted his predicament into a means of annoying the *optimates* saying that "if *they* coquetted with one Publius (viz. Clodius), *he* would coquet with another Publius (viz. Vatinius) by way of reprisal" (i. 9. 19).

55 B.C.

Consuls (after an "interregnum" in January caused by the tribune C. Cato): Cn. Pompeius and M. Licinius Crassus, both for the second time, having been consuls together in 70

§ 1. Crassus carries his Lex Licinia for the suppression of *sodalicia* ("political combinations"). Pompey opens his new theatre with shows of unparalleled magnificence, but his wholesale slaughter of elephants disgusts not only Cicero, but the people generally.

§ 2. Cicero finishes his *De oratore.* Crassus sets out for Syria, and his departure, together with the death of Pompey's wife Julia, Caesar's daughter, put an end to even the semblance of friendship between Pompey and Caesar.

§ 3. Gabinius marches into Egypt, occupies Alexandria, and restores the ex-king Ptolemy Auletes.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

54 B.C.

Consuls: L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, an optimate, who married M. Cato's sister Porcia, and fell at Pharsalia in 48, *and Appius Claudius Pulcher*

§ 1. Cicero helps to secure the acquittal of his former enemy, P. Vatinius, who requited his kindness after Pharsalia and later, and at Pompey's instance defends, though unsuccessfully, his former enemy, A. Gabinius; and also defends successfully his old friend Cn. Plancius, charged with *ambitus*, in his famous speech *Pro Plancio*.

§ 2. His brother, Q. Cicero, goes over from Pompey to Caesar as his legate, and serves him with distinction in Britain and Gaul; and this leads to a *rapprochement* between Cicero and Caesar.

53 B.C.

Consuls, after disorder lasting till July: Cn. Domitius Calvinus and M. Valerius Messalla

Defeat and murder of M. Crassus in June, near Carrhae. Cicero is more deeply affected by the death, a little earlier, of M. Crassus's son, Publius (v. 8. 4). Cicero succeeds Crassus as augur, and supports Milo's candidature for the consulship, recommending him to C. Scribonius Curio, to whom he writes a series of letters (ii. 1-7).

52 B.C.

About the middle of January Clodius is slain near Bovillae by the retainers of Milo; his body is burned by his supporters in the forum, when the senate-house caught fire and was destroyed; martial law

is proclaimed, and finally Pompey is made sole consul, being allowed to retain the government of Spain. Milo is accused of *vis* and condemned. He goes into exile at Massilia.

51 B.C.

Consuls: Servius Sulpicius Rufus and M. Claudius Marcellus

Cicero goes to Cilicia as proconsul, succeeding Appius Claudius, who had succeeded Lentulus in 54, and M. Calpurnius Bibulus goes to Syria. Cicero is kept fully informed of what occurs in Rome by his friend M. Caelius Rufus (Bk. VIII. of these Letters).

50 B.C.

Consuls: C. Claudius Marcellus, cousin of the consul for 51, *and L. Aemilius Paullus*

§ 1. Cicero, after a satisfactory tenure of office, quits his province, leaving C. Caelius Caldus, his quaestor, in charge, and reaches Rome in December. He is anxious about the honours due to his Cilician successes, having so far only had a *supplicatio* voted him, but no triumph; he is also embarrassed about the marriage of his daughter Tullia with P. Cornelius Dolabella, who was prosecuting for treason Appius Claudius Pulcher, with whom Cicero desired a reconciliation.

§ 2. A motion in the Senate, that Caesar's candidature for the consulship should be considered in his absence, having been rejected, the tribune Scribonius Curio demands the disbanding of Pompey's army, which the Senate would have passed but for

the opposition of the consul Marcellus. Curio openly declares for Caesar, whom he joins at Ravenna, thus, according to Lucan, turning the scales against the Pompeian party (*momentumque fuit mutatus Curio rerum*).

49 B.C.

Consuls: L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus and C. Claudius Marcellus, cousin of his namesake, the consul for 50, *and brother of the consul for* 51

The tribunes M. Antonius and Q. Cassius, accompanied by Caelius Rufus, leave Rome and join Caesar, who on January 11 crosses the Rubicon, and thereby declares war upon the Republic, and marching southwards finally besieges Pompey in Brundisium. On March 17 Pompey escapes to Dyrrachium, whither the consuls had gone with the bulk of his army on March 4. Cicero vacillates as to his future policy, but finally decides to throw in his lot with Pompey.

48 B.C.

Consuls: C. Julius Caesar (for the second time) and P. Servilius Isauricus

Cicero spends the first half of the year in Pompey's camp at Dyrrachium, where he conceives a poor opinion of Pompey's army; he is still there when he hears of the utter defeat of Pompey by Caesar near Pharsalus on August 7 and his flight to Egypt. Crossing with the Pompeians from Dyrrachium to Corcyra, Cicero is threatened with death by young Cn. Pompey for refusing to take the command as senior consular. In October he returns to Italy and settles in Brundisium.

47 B.C.

Consuls: Q. Fufius Calenus and P. Vatinius, but only for Oct., Nov., and Dec.

§ 1. Though allowed to remain in Italy when all other Pompeians were driven out, Cicero was not happy; he had broken with his brother Quintus, and Terentia (he alleged) had mismanaged his financial affairs in his absence; while Dolabella, his son-in-law, was so notoriously unfaithful to Tullia as to make a divorce inevitable.

§ 2. He was consoled, however, by a reassuring letter from Caesar in Egypt, who permitted him to retain his lictors and the title of *imperator*; on Caesar's return Cicero met him and was cordially received, and being given leave to live wherever he liked, he chose Tusculum, so as to be near Rome.

§ 3. Dolabella, now tribune, agitating for the abolition of debts, is opposed by his colleague, Trebellius, and the ensuing riots had to be quelled by troops under M. Antonius.

§ 4. Towards the end of the year, through Caesar's influence, Q. Fufius Calenus and P. Vatinius are elected consuls.

46 B.C.

Consuls: C. Julius Caesar (third time) and M. Aemilius Lepidus

§ 1. Caesar defeats the Pompeian army under Scipio at Thapsus in Africa, and M. Cato, preferring death to slavery, commits suicide at Utica. Returning to Rome and celebrating four triumphs in August

for his victories in Gaul, Egypt, Pontus, and Africa, Caesar is made Dictator for the year.

§ 2. Cicero's letters now show a more cheerful spirit; he had now divorced Terentia, and after a short interval married his young and wealthy ward, Publilia; the marriage, however, was an unhappy one.

§ 3. Cicero wrote this year his *Partitiones oratoriae*, *Brutus*, and *Orator*.

45 B.C.

Consul (fourth time): C. Julius Caesar

§ 1. In February Tullia, shortly after her divorce from Dolabella, died in childbed. Cicero, who had loved her devotedly, refused to be comforted and sought refuge in the solitude of Astura.

§ 2. Caesar now openly aimed at monarchy, and Cicero especially resented, as an insult to the senatorial order, the election as consul for one day of Caninius Rebilus.

44 B.C.

§ 1. Caesar, now consul for the fifth time and dictator for the fourth, had already by his arrogance and ill-concealed ambition aroused the opposition of the republicans, and a conspiracy had long been maturing which culminated in his assassination on March 15 at the foot of Pompey's statue in the senate-house. By his will he adopted C. Octavius and made him his chief heir.

§ 2. On the 17th, at a meeting of the Senate in the temple of Tellus, Cicero proposed an amnesty, which the Senate passed, but at the same time ratified all Caesar's acts. After this he retired into private life for six months.

§ 3. He had already completed his *Tusculan Disputations* and *De natura deorum*, and during the remainder of the year composed his *De amicitia, De senectute, De officiis*, and several other works.

43 B.C.

Consuls: C. Vibius Pansa and A. Hirtius

After a series of events too complicated even to summarize here,[a] C. Octavius, by then called Octavianus, formed a triumvirate with Antony and Lepidus, who removed their chief opponents by *proscriptio*. Among the proscribed was Cicero, who was slain on December 7th, when he was approaching the end of his sixty-fourth year.

[a] A full note on the Cisalpine Campaign will be found at the beginning of Book X.

CICERO'S
LETTERS TO HIS FRIENDS

BOOKS VII–XII

M. TULLI CICERONIS EPISTULARUM AD FAMILIARES

LIBER SEPTIMUS

I

M. CICERO S. D. M. MARIO

Romae, A.U.C. 699.

1 Si et dolor aliquis corporis aut infirmitas valetudinis tuae tenuit, quo minus ad ludos venires, fortunae magis tribuo, quam sapientiae tuae; sin haec, quae ceteri mirantur, contemnenda duxisti, et, cum per valetudinem posses, venire tamen noluisti, utrumque laetor, et sine dolore corporis te fuisse, et animo valuisse, cum ea, quae sine causa mirantur alii, neglexeris; modo, ut tibi constiterit fructus oti tui; quo quidem tibi perfrui mirifice licuit, cum esses in ista amoenitate paene solus relictus. Neque tamen dubito, quin tu ex illo cubiculo tuo, ex quo tibi

[a] A rich Arpinate, and an esteemed friend of Cicero. He was a man of letters, but suffered from ill health, and generally lived on his estate near Cicero's villa at Pompeii. His own villa faced Stabiae and the coast. In a letter to his brother (*Q. Fr.* ii. 10) Cicero says of him " Marius et valetudine est et natura imbecillior." This letter was written on the occasion of the dedication of Pompey's theatre and the temple of Venus Victrix, where Pompey, now in his second consulship, exhibited shows of unparalleled magnificence.

CICERO'S LETTERS TO HIS FRIENDS

BOOK VII

I

CICERO TO M. MARIUS [a]

Rome, September or October, 55 B.C.

If it was some bodily pain or weakness of health 1
that prevented you coming to the games, I attribute it to chance rather than to your wisdom; but if you held in contempt what the rest of the world admires, and though your health permitted of your doing so, you still had no wish to come, then I am delighted for both reasons—that you were free from bodily pain, and that you showed strength of mind in disdaining what others unjustifiably admire; provided only that you have got some real profit out of your leisure; and indeed you have had a wonderful opportunity of profiting by it to the full, left as you were almost alone, amid all that beautiful scenery of yours. And yet I doubt not that *you*, looking out of that chamber

Stabianam perforando patefecisti[1] scenam[2] per eos dies matutina tempora spectiunculis[3] consumpseris; cum illi interea, qui te istic reliquerant, spectarent communes mimos semisomni. Reliquas vero partes diei tu consumebas his delectationibus, quas tibi ipse ad arbitrium tuum compararas; nobis autem erant ea perpetienda, quae scilicet Sp. Maecius probavisset.
2 Omnino, si quaeris, ludi apparatissimi, sed non tui stomachi; coniecturam enim facio de meo. Nam primum honoris causa in scenam redierant ii, quos ego honoris causa de scena decessisse arbitrabar. Deliciae vero tuae, noster Aesopus, eiusmodi fuit, ut ei desinere per omnes homines liceret. Is iurare cum coepisset, vox eum defecit in illo loco, SI SCIENS FALLO. Quid tibi ego alia narrem? Nosti enim reliquos ludos; quid? ne id quidem leporis habuerunt, quod solent mediocres ludi. Apparatus enim spectatio tollebat omnem hilaritatem, quo quidem apparatu non dubito, quin animo aequissimo carueris. Quid enim delectationis habent sexcenti muli in *Clytaemnestra*? aut in *Equo Troiano* craterarum tria milia? aut armatura varia peditatus et equitatus in

[1] *Reid*: perforasti et p. *MSS.*
[2] *Benedict*: Stabianum senum *codd.*: Stabianum sinum *Boot*: Misenum *Lambinus.*
[3] *Klotz*: lectiunculis *MSS.*

[a] Either in the wall of the house by inserting a new casement, or by felling trees.
[b] As he would be looking S.W., the morning sun would not be in his eyes.
[c] Spurius Maecius Tarpa, whom Pompey appointed licenser of plays—a sort of Lord Chamberlain. *Cf.* Hor. *A.P.* 386-7.
[d] To honour Pompey.
[e] The great tragic actor at Rome, as Roscius was the great comedian. Cicero calls him "summus artifex." The oath was that "by Jupiter and the Stone." See vii. 12. 1, note *d*.

of yours, from which, by making a gap,[a] you have opened out for yourself a view of the Stabian stage, have spent the morning hours of all those days in taking peeps at the scenery,[b] while *they* meantime, who left you where you are, were gazing at farces on the *public* stage,—and could scarcely keep awake. The remaining hours of the day, however, *you* have been spending in such amusements as you had provided for yourself according to your fancy, while *we* had to go through with anything that Sp. Maecius[c] —just think of it!—had sanctioned.

If you ask me, the games were of course most magnificent; but they would not have been to your taste; that I infer from my own feelings. For in the first place those actors had returned to the stage out of respect for the occasion,[d] who had, as I thought, quitted it out of self-respect. Indeed your favourite, our friend Aesop,[e] was such a failure that nobody in the world would have regretted his leaving off. When he began to swear the oath, his voice failed him at the crucial point, *If wittingly I deceive.* Why should I tell you anything more? You know what the rest of the games were like. Why, they were not even as attractive as games on a middling scale often are. For any feeling of cheerfulness was extinguished by the spectacle of such magnificence—a magnificence which, I am sure, it will not disturb you in the least to have missed seeing. For what pleasure can there be in the sight of six hundred mules in the *Clytaemnestra*, or of three thousand bowls in the *Trojan Horse*, or of the varied accoutrements of foot and 2

aliqua pugna? Quae popularem admirationem habue-
3 runt, delectationem tibi nullam attulissent. Quod si tu per eos dies operam dedisti Protogeni tuo, dummodo is tibi quidvis potius, quam orationes meas legerit, ne tu haud paullo plus, quam quisquam nostrum, delectationis habuisti. Non enim te puto Graecos aut Oscos ludos desiderare; praesertim cum Oscos ludos vel in senatu vestro spectare possis, Graecos ita non ames, ut ne ad villam quidem tuam via Graeca ire soleas. Nam quid ego te athletas putem desiderare, qui gladiatores contempseris? in quibus ipse Pompeius confitetur se et operam et oleum perdidisse. Reliquae sunt venationes binae per dies quinque; magnificae, nemo negat. Sed quae potest homini esse polito delectatio, cum aut homo imbecillus a valentissima bestia laniatur, aut praeclara bestia venabulo transverberatur? Quae tamen, si videnda sunt, saepe vidisti; neque nos, qui haec spectavimus, quidquam novi vidimus. Extremus elephantorum dies fuit; in quo admiratio magna vulgi atque turbae, delectatio nulla exstitit. Quin etiam misericordia quaedam consecuta est atque opinio eiusmodi, esse quamdam
4 illi belluae cum genere humano societatem. His ego tamen diebus ludis scenicis, ne forte videar tibi non

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[a] Marius could get as much fun out of the proceedings of his town council at Pompeii as out of the broadest farces on the stage. By Oscan plays he means the *Fabulae Atellanae* which originated in Atella, an ancient town of the Osci, in Campania.

[b] The road so-called was probably out of repair.

[c] "The allusion is to 'midnight oil' and not to the oil used in the training schools." Tyrrell.

[d] Pliny (*N.H.* viii. 20. 21) tells us that twenty elephants were killed, and their cries so moved the spectators that they rose as one man and cursed Pompey.

horse in some big battle? All of which excited the admiration of the people, but would have given you no pleasure at all.

But as for you, if during those days you listened 3
attentively to your reader Protogenes, always provided that he read out to you anything rather than my speeches, depend upon it, you have had a great deal more pleasure than any single one of us. For I don't think you were sorry to miss the Greek and Oscan plays, especially when you can witness your Oscan plays in your own town-council,[a] while as for the Greeks, you have so little love for them that you do not often go even to your own villa by the Greek Road.[b] As to the athletics, why should I suppose that you are sorry to have missed them—you, who treated the gladiators so contemptuously? And on them Pompey himself admits that he wasted both toil and oil.[c]

There remain the wild-beast hunts, two a day for five days—magnificent; there is no denying it. But what pleasure can it possibly be to a man of culture, when either a puny human being is mangled by a most powerful beast, or a splendid beast is transfixed with a hunting-spear? And even if all this is something to be seen, you have seen it more than once; and I, who was a spectator, saw nothing new in it. The last day was that of the elephants, and on that day the mob and crowd were greatly impressed, but manifested no pleasure.[d] Indeed the result was a certain compassion and a kind of feeling that that huge beast has a fellowship with the human race.

However, during those days, I mean the per- 4
formances on the stage, lest you should happen to think that I was not only enjoying myself but

modo beatus, sed liber omnino fuisse, dirupi me paene in iudicio Galli Canini, familiaris tui. Quod si tam facilem populum haberem, quam Aesopus habuit, libenter mehercule artem desinerem tecumque et cum similibus nostri viverem. Nam me cum antea taedebat, cum et aetas et ambitio me hortabatur, et licebat denique, quem nolebam, non defendere, tum vero hoc tempore vita nulla est. Neque enim fructum ullum laboris exspecto, et cogor nonnumquam homines non optime de me meritos, rogatu
5 eorum, qui bene meriti sunt, defendere. Itaque quaero causas omnes aliquando vivendi arbitratu meo; teque et istam rationem oti tui et laudo vehementer et probo: quodque nos minus intervisis, hoc fero animo aequiore, quod, si Romae esses, tamen neque nos lepore tuo neque te (si qui est in me) meo frui liceret propter molestissimas occupationes meas; quibus si me relaxaro (nam, ut plane exsolvam, non postulo), te ipsum, qui multos annos nihil aliud commentaris, docebo profecto, quid sit humaniter vivere. Tu mihi modo istam imbecillitatem valetudinis tuae sustenta et tuere, ut facis, ut nostras villas obire, et
6 mecum simul lecticula concursare possis. Haec ad te pluribus verbis scripsi, quam soleo, non oti abundantia, sed amoris erga te, quod me quadam epistola

[a] Tribune of the plebs in 56 B.C. (i. 2. 2 and 4). Cicero defended him in 53. He was with Cicero at Athens in 51. He was a friend of Varro, and died in 44.

entirely free, I almost strained myself to death at the trial of your dear friend, Gallus Caninius.[a] But if I found the people as ready to dispense with me as Aesopus found them, I swear I should be glad to retire from practice, and live with you and those of our set. For not only was I sick of it in the old days when I had youth and ambition to urge me on, and it was open to me absolutely to decline to defend a man I did not wish to defend, but in these days, I assure you, life is not worth living. I have no fruits of my toil to look forward to, and there are times when I am obliged to defend men who have not deserved very well of me, at the instance of those who *have* deserved well of me.

And so I am eager to find any excuse for at last 5
living just as I choose, and I heartily applaud and approve of you and your scheme of leisure; and I am the less annoyed at your so seldom coming to see me because, even if you were in Rome, neither should I be allowed to enjoy the charm of your society, nor you that of mine (if there is any charm in me), because of the galling burden of my engagements. If I can get some relief from them—to be entirely released from them is more than I ask—you may be sure that I shall teach you, yes, you, who have been thinking of nothing else for years and years, the true meaning of a life of cultured refinement. It only remains for you to nurse and watch that feeble health of yours, as indeed you do, so that you may be able to make the tour of my country-houses, and travel about with me in the same litter.

I have written thus to you at greater length than 6
usual out of the abundance not of my leisure, but of my love for you, because you hinted to me in a certain

subinvitaras, si memoria tenes, ut ad te aliquid eiusmodi scriberem, quo minus te praetermisisse ludos poeniteret. Quod si assecutus sum, gaudeo; sin minus, hoc me tamen consolor, quod posthac ad ludos venies, nosque vises, neque in epistolis relinques meis spem aliquam delectationis tuae.

II

M. T. C. S. D. M. MARIO

Romae, A.U.C. 702.

1 Mandatum tuum curabo diligenter. Sed homo acutus ei mandasti potissimum, cui expediret, illud venire quam plurimo. Sed eo vidisti multum, quod praefinisti, quo ne pluris emerem. Quod si mihi permisisses, qui meus amor in te est, confecissem cum coheredibus; nunc, cum tuum pretium novi, illicitatorem potius ponam, quam illud minoris veneat. Sed de ioco satis est. Tuum negotium agam, sicuti
2 debeo, diligenter. De Bursa te gaudere certo scio; sed nimis verecunde mihi gratularis. Putas enim, ut scribis, propter hominis sordes minus me magnam illam laetitiam putare. Credas mihi velim, magis

[a] Marius had commissioned Cicero to purchase some property for him, apparently forgetting that Cicero was one of the heirs to that property.

[b] T. Munatius Plancus Bursa, whom Cicero had successfully prosecuted *de vi*, in spite of Pompey's influence. Bursa had led the riots that followed on the death of Clodius, and the burning of the *Curia Hostilia*. He was Cicero's *bête noire*.

letter, if you remember, that you would like me to write you something that would tend to lessen your regret at having missed the games. If I have attained that object, I am glad; if not, I still have to console me the fact that you will come to the games at some future time and pay me a visit, and not leave any hope you may have of entertainment to depend entirely upon my letters.

II

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, May or June, 52 B.C.

I will attend to your commission with all care.[a] 1
But, clever fellow that you are, you have entrusted that commission to the very man of all others whose interest it is that the property should fetch as high a price as possible. But you showed remarkable foresight in fixing beforehand a figure beyond which I should not go. Had you only given me *carte blanche*, such is my regard for you, I should have come to some arrangement with my co-heirs. As it is, now that I know the price you have fixed, I shall put up a sham bidder sooner than let it go for less than your limit. But my joke has gone far enough. I'll do the job for you, as I am bound to do it, with all care.

I am quite sure that you are glad about Bursa,[b] 2
but you are too modest in your congratulations, evidently thinking, as indeed you write, that because he was such a low scoundrel, I did not think it any great reason for being delighted.

me iudicio hoc, quam morte inimici laetatum. Primum enim iudicio malo quam gladio, deinde gloria potius amici quam calamitate. In primisque me delectavit, tantum studium bonorum in me exstitisse contra incredibilem contentionem clarissimi et poten-
3 tissimi viri. Postremo (vix verisimile fortasse videatur), oderam multo peius hunc, quam illum ipsum Clodium. Illum enim oppugnaram, hunc defenderam. Et ille, cum omnis respublica in meo capite discrimen esset habitura, magnum quiddam spectavit, nec sua sponte, sed eorum auxilio, qui me stante stare non poterant: hic simiolus animi causa me, in quem inveheretur, delegerat persuaseratque nonnullis invidis meis, se in me emissarium semper fore. Quamobrem valde iubeo gaudere te; magna res gesta est. Numquam ulli fortiores cives fuerunt, quam qui ausi sunt eum contra tantas opes eius, a quo ipsi lecti iudices erant, condemnare. Quod fecissent numquam, nisi iis dolori meus fuisset dolor.
4 Nos hic multitudine et celebritate iudiciorum et novis legibus ita distinemur, ut quotidie vota faciamus, ne intercaletur, ut quam primum te videre possimus.

[a] Clodius, murdered by the followers of Milo at Bovillae on January 20th in this year.
[b] Milo, exiled in consequence of the murder of Clodius.
[c] Pompey.
[d] When Cicero defended Bursa is not known.
[e] The new procedure introduced by Pompey.
[f] If the intercalary month was inserted by the Pontifices it would keep Cicero longer in Rome.

Now I want you to believe me when I say that I derived more delight from this trial than from the death of my enemy.[a] For in the first place, I had rather win in a court of law than by the sword, and secondly, by bringing about the triumph rather than the political downfall of a friend.[b] And I was above all delighted that the enthusiasm of honest men on my behalf stood out so conspicuously to resist the inconceivably strenuous efforts of a most distinguished and powerful personage.[c]

Lastly (perhaps you will think it hardly probable) 3
I hated this man much worse than I hated the notorious Clodius himself; for the latter I had attacked, the former I had defended.[d] And Clodius, when the whole State was likely to be jeopardized in my person, fixed his eyes on something big, and that not on his own initiative, but with the assistance of those who could not stand firm as long as I did so; but this little ape of a fellow, just by way of amusing himself, had picked me out to be the object of his attacks, and had convinced some of my ill-wishers that he would always be at hand to let loose upon me. So I bid you rejoice right heartily; it has been a great achievement. Never have any of my fellow-citizens shown greater courage than those who dared to condemn him, and defy the enormous resources of the man by whom the jurors themselves had been chosen. This they would never have done had they not made my grievance their own.

Here I am so distracted by the number of cases, 4
and the crowded state of the law-courts, and by the new legislation,[e] that I offer prayers daily that there may be no intercalary month,[f] so that I may see you as soon as possible.

III

M. CICERO S. D. M. MARIO

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Persaepe mihi cogitanti de communibus miseriis, in quibus tot annos versamur, et (ut video) versabimur, solet in mentem venire illius temporis, quo proxime fuimus una; quin etiam ipsum diem memoria teneo. Nam a. d. III. Idus Maias, Lentulo et Marcello consulibus, cum in Pompeianum vesperi venissem, tu mihi sollicito animo praesto fuisti. Sollicitum autem te habebat cogitatio tum offici, tum etiam periculi mei. Si manerem in Italia, verebare, ne officio deessem; si proficiscerer ad bellum, periculum te meum commovebat. Quo tempore vidisti profecto me quoque ita conturbatum, ut non explicarem, quid esset optimum factu. Pudori tamen malui famaeque cedere, quam salutis meae
2 rationem ducere. Cuius me mei facti poenituit, non tam propter periculum meum, quam propter vitia multa, quae ibi offendi, quo veneram. Primum neque magnas copias neque bellicosas; deinde extra ducem paucosque praeterea (de principibus loquor), reliqui primum in ipso bello rapaces, deinde in oratione ita

[a] In 49 B.C. Cicero joined Pompey at Dyrrhachium before the end of the year.

III

TO THE SAME

Rome, end of May (?), 46 B.C.

Thinking, as I very often do, of the miseries, 1 common to us all, in which we have been living for many years past, and shall, I can see, continue to live, I am constantly reminded of the time when we last met; indeed, I remember the very day. When I arrived at my Pompeian villa on the evening of the 12th of May in the consulship of Lentulus and Marcellus,[a] you were there to meet me in an anxious state of mind. But your anxiety was due to your brooding over the double problem of my duty and my danger. If I remained in Italy, you feared that I should be failing in my duty; if I set out for the scene of war, you were appalled at the thought of my danger. And on that occasion, as you must surely have noticed, I too was so agitated that I could form no clear conception of what was best to be done. Anyhow I decided to yield to my sense of honour and to public opinion rather than consider my own safety.

That decision of mine I have since regretted, not 2 so much on account of any danger I incurred as of the many signs of weakness I came across at the end of my journey. In the first place, I found that the troops were neither numerous nor in good fighting trim; secondly, apart from the commander and some few others (I am speaking of the leading men), the rest were, firstly, so greedy of loot during the campaign itself, and secondly, so bloodthirsty in the

crudeles, ut ipsam victoriam horrerem; maximum autem aes alienum amplissimorum virorum. Quid quaeris? nihil boni praeter causam. Quae cum vidissem, desperans victoriam, primum coepi suadere pacem, cuius fueram semper auctor; deinde, cum ab ea sententia Pompeius valde abhorreret, suadere institui, ut bellum duceret. Hoc interdum probabat et in ea sententia videbatur fore, et fuisset fortasse, nisi quadam ex pugna coepisset suis militibus confidere. Ex eo tempore vir ille summus nullus imperator fuit. Signa, tirone et collectitio exercitu, cum legionibus robustissimis contulit. Victus, tur-
3 pissime amissis etiam castris, solus fugit. Hunc ego mihi belli finem feci, nec putavi, cum integri pares non fuissemus, fractos superiores fore. Discessi ab eo bello, in quo aut in acie cadendum fuit, aut in aliquas insidias incidendum, aut deveniendum in victoris manus, aut ad Iubam confugiendum, aut capiendus tamquam exsilio locus aut consciscenda mors voluntaria. Certe nihil fuit praeterea, si te victori nolles, aut non auderes, committere. Ex omnibus autem iis, quae dixi, incommodis nihil tolerabilius exsilio, praesertim innocenti, ubi nulla adiuncta est turpitudo; addo etiam, cum ea urbe

[a] That near Dyrrhachium, when Pompey was victorious.
[b] Cicero deprecated Pompey's calling in the aid of the barbarian king of Numidia.

way they spoke, that I shuddered at the thought of even victory itself; and last but not least, there was the insolvency of men of the highest rank. In short there was nothing sound about them but their cause. At the sight of all this, despairing of victory, first I began to advise the peace I had always advocated; and then, when Pompey shrank in horror from such a proposal, I set about advising him to protract the war. This advice he was now and again inclined to approve, and seemed likely to remain of that opinion, and perhaps would have done so, had he not, in consequence of a certain engagement,[a] begun to feel confidence in his own troops. From that moment, for all his eminence, he was no commander-in-chief. With his untrained and hastily assembled army he gave battle to the most hard-bitten legions in the world. He was defeated, he lost even his camp in the most disgraceful way, and he fled all alone.

This I resolved should be for me the end of the war, 3
not thinking it likely that, having proved no match for the enemy when our forces were unimpaired, we should prove superior to them when utterly crushed. I withdrew from a war where there was nothing left but either to die in battle, or to fall into some ambush, or pass into the conqueror's hands, or to take refuge with Juba,[b] or to find a spot for what would be practically exile, or deliberately to die by one's own hand. At any rate there was no other course open, if you had neither the will nor the courage to throw yourself on the mercy of the conqueror. Now of all the miserable alternatives I have specified, the least unendurable is exile, especially for an innocent man, when there is no moral stigma attached to it; I may also add, when the city from which you are excluded

careas, in qua nihil sit, quod videre possis sine dolore Ego cum meis (si quidquam nunc cuiusquam est) etiam in meis esse malui. Quae acciderunt, omnia
4 dixi futura. Veni domum, non quo optima vivendi condicio esset; sed tamen, si esset aliqua forma reipublicae, tamquam in patria ut essem, si nulla, tamquam in exsilio. Mortem mihi cur consciscerem, causa nulla visa est; cur optarem, multae. Vetus est enim, *ubi non sis qui fueris, non esse cur velis vivere.* Sed tamen vacare culpa magnum est solatium, praesertim cum habeam duas res, quibus me sustentem, optimarum artium scientiam et maximarum rerum gloriam; quarum altera mihi vivo numquam eripietur,
5 altera ne mortuo quidem. Haec ad te scripsi verbosius et tibi molestus fui, quod te cum mei tum reipublicae cognovi amantissimum. Notum tibi omne meum consilium esse volui, ut primum scires me numquam voluisse plus quemquam posse, quam universam rempublicam; postea autem quam alicuius culpa tantum valeret unus, ut obsisti non posset, me voluisse pacem; amisso exercitu et eo duce, in quo spes fuerat uno, me voluisse etiam reliquis omnibus; postquam non potuerim, mihi ipsi finem fecisse belli; nunc autem, si haec civitas est, civem esse me; si

[a] Pompey; the "one man" is of course Caesar.

is one in which there is nothing you can cast your eyes upon without pain. For my own part, I preferred to be with those who belong to me (if anything belongs to anybody in these days), and furthermore among my own possessions. As to what actually happened, I foretold it all.

I came home, not that the conditions of life here 4
were of the best, but so that, if there were any definite form of constitution, I might be, as it were, in my own country, if there were none, then, as it were, an exile. Why I should contrive my own death there seemed no reason; why I should pray for it there were many. You know the old saying, "*When once your powers are passed, why wish your life to last?*" However, it is a great consolation to be blameless, especially when I have two things to support me—a knowledge of the best branches of learning, and the glory of the highest achievements; of the former I shall never be robbed in my lifetime, of the latter not even when I am dead.

I have written all this to you with some verbosity, 5
and have ventured thus to bore you, because I am convinced of your warm devotion to myself as well as to the Republic. I was anxious that my entire policy should be known to you, so that you might understand that in the first place I never desired that any one man should have more power than the State as a whole, but that, when through the fault of a certain responsible person,[a] one man was so strong as to put resistance out of the question, well, then I was all for peace; that after the loss of the army and of that commander in whom alone there had been any hope, I resolved to put an end to the policy of war among all the rest of our party also, but failing in that, to put an end to it so far as I was concerned; but that, as it is, if there

non, exsulem esse non incommodiore loco, quam si
6 Rhodum aut Mitylenas me contulissem. Haec tecum coram malueram; sed quia longius fiebat, volui per litteras eadem, ut haberes, quid diceres, si quando in vituperatores meos incidisses. Sunt enim, qui, cum meus interitus nihil fuerit reipublicae profuturus, criminis loco putent esse, quod vivam. Quibus ego certo scio non videri satis multos perisse; qui, si me audissent, quamvis iniqua pace, honeste tamen viverent; armis enim inferiores, non causa fuissent. Habes epistulam verbosiorem fortasse, quam velles. Quod tibi ita videri putabo, nisi mihi longiorem remiseris. Ego, si, quae volo, expediero, brevi tempore te, ut spero, videbo.

IV

M. T. C. S. D. M. MARIO

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

A. d. IX. Kal. in Cumanum veni cum Libone tuo vel nostro potius. In Pompeianum statim cogito, sed faciam ante te certiorem. Te cum semper valere cupio, tum certe, dum hic sumus. Vides enim,

[a] Father-in-law of Sextus Pompeius. His sister Scribonia was the wife of Augustus.

be a State, I am a citizen of it, if not, that I am an exile in a place not less convenient than if I had betaken myself to Rhodes or Mitylene.

I should have preferred discussing these matters 6
with you in person; but because time was getting on, I determined to convey the same sentiments to you by letter, so that you might know what to say if ever you fell among my detractors. For there are people who, though my passing away was not likely to be of the slightest benefit to the Republic, look upon it as a sort of scandalous reflection upon me that I am still alive. Now these people, I am quite sure, are not satisfied with the many who have already fallen; people who, had they but listened to me, would at any rate be living an honourable life, however harsh the terms of peace; for inferior as they were in arms, they would not have been so in the justice of their cause.

Well, there's a letter for you, rather more wordy perhaps than you would have liked; and I shall think that it seems so to you, unless you send me a longer one in reply. If I can settle some business I want done, I shall see you, I hope, before very long.

IV

CICERO TO THE SAME

Cumae, November 16th, 46 B.C.

I arrived at my Cuman villa with your (or rather our) friend Libo,[a] on the 16th. I am thinking of going on immediately to my Pompeian villa, but I shall let you know before I do so. I want you always to be in good health, at any rate while I am here. For

quanto post una futuri simus. Quare, si quod constitutum cum podagra habes, fac ut in alium diem differas. Cura igitur, ut valeas, et me hoc biduo aut triduo exspecta.

V

CICERO S. D. CAESARI IMPER.

Romae, A.U.C. 700.

1 Vide, quam mihi persuaserim, te me esse alterum, non modo in his rebus, quae ad me ipsum, sed etiam in iis, quae ad meos pertinent. C. Trebatium cogitaram, quocumque exirem, mecum ducere, ut eum meis omnibus studiis, beneficiis quam ornatissimum domum reducerem. Sed posteaquam et Pompei commoratio diuturnior erat, quam putaram, et mea quaedam tibi non ignota dubitatio aut impedire profectionem meam videbatur aut certe tardare, vide, quid mihi sumpserim,—coepi velle, ea Trebatium exspectare a te, quae sperasset a me. Neque mehercule minus ei prolixe de tua voluntate promisi, quam
2 eram solitus de mea polliceri. Casus vero mirificus quidam intervenit, quasi vel testis opinionis meae vel sponsor humanitatis tuae. Nam cum de hoc ipso Trebatio cum Balbo nostro loquerer accuratius

[a] Tyrrell reads *quanto* but translates as though it were *quantum*—"You see the amount of one another's company we are likely to have in the future?"

[b] See note *b* to the next letter.

[c] L. Cornelius Balbus the elder was a native of Gades, to whom Pompey gave Roman citizenship. He served Caesar as *praefectus fabrum* in Spain in 61 B.C., and still held that position, though staying mostly in Rome. In 56 Cicero successfully defended his claim to Roman citizenship. After Caesar's death he joined Octavian, and was the first consul of provincial extraction.

you see how long it is likely to be before we meet again.[a] So if you have any assignation with Madam Gout, mind you put it off to another day. Be careful to keep well then, and look out for me within the next two or three days.

V

CICERO TO CAESAR IMPERATOR, IN GAUL

Rome, about April, 54 B.C.

Observe how I take it for granted that I have in you a second self, not only in what concerns me personally, but also in what concerns my friends. It had been my intention, on whatever foreign service I should be sent, to take with me C. Trebatius,[b] so as to bring him home as distinguished as possible by every mark of my devotion and kindness. But when Pompey's stay at Rome proved longer than I had expected, and a certain hesitancy on my part too, of which you are well aware, seemed likely to prevent, or at any rate retard, my departure, just see what I have presumed to do,—I am beginning to wish that whatever Trebatius had hoped for from me, he should expect to get from you, and I frankly confess the hopes I held out to him of your goodwill were no less ample than the promises I had frequently made to him of my own. 1

There occurred, however, in the meantime an astonishing incident, whether regarded as a witness to my judgment of you or as a pledge for your generosity. I was having quite a serious conversation at my house with our friend Balbus[c] about this very 2

domi meae, litterae mihi dantur a te, quibus in extremis scriptum erat: *M. Rufum, quem mihi commendas, vel regem Galliae faciam, vel hunc Leptae delega. Si vis, tu ad me alium mitte, quem ornem.* Sustulimus manus et ego et Balbus. Tanta fuit opportunitas, ut illud nescio quod non fortuitum, sed divinum videretur. Mitto igitur ad te Trebatium, atque ita mitto, ut initio mea sponte, post autem invitatu tuo
3 mittendum duxerim. Hunc, mi Caesar, sic velim omni tua comitate complectare, ut omnia, quae per me possis adduci, ut in meos conferre velis, in unum hunc conferas. De quo tibi homine haec spondeo non illo vetere verbo meo, quod cum ad te de Milone scripsissem, iure lusisti, sed more Romano, quo modo homines non inepti loquuntur; probiorem hominem, meliorem virum, pudentiorem esse neminem. Accedit etiam, quod familiam ducit in iure civili, singulari memoria, summa scientia. Huic ego neque tribunatum, neque praefecturam, neque ullius beneficii certum nomen peto; benevolentiam tuam et liberalitatem peto; neque impedio, quo minus, si tibi ita placuerit, etiam hisce eum ornes gloriolae insignibus; totum denique hominem tibi ita trado de manu (ut aiunt) in manum tuam istam et victoria et fide praestantem. Sumus enim putidiusculi,

[a] The name is a mere conjecture, the text being utterly corrupt.

[b] Afterwards Cicero's *praefectus fabrum* in Cilicia.

[c] Probably some such phrase as *frugi* or *bonae frugi*, which was conventionally employed in letters of recommendation. Tyrrell.

Trebatius, when I am handed a letter from you, at the end of which were the words, "As to the M. Rufus[a] you recommend to me, I will e'en make him king of Gaul, or if you like pass him on to Lepta[b]; if you care to do so, send me somebody else to give a post to." Balbus and I both raised our hands. So marvellously opportune was it, that it struck us as something that was not mere luck but an intervention of the gods. I therefore send you Trebatius, and I send him with the feeling that I should do so in the first instance of my own free will, and then because of your invitation.

He is the man, my dear Caesar, I would have you 3
so welcome with all your characteristic courtesy as to bestow upon him alone whatever favours I might induce you to be kind enough to bestow upon my friends. As to his character I guarantee you this—not using that hackneyed expression[c] of mine which you rightly ridiculed when I wrote to you about Milo, but in the good old Roman style, which is the speech of men of the world—that there exists no more upright personality, no better or more unassuming man. I should add that he is at the head of his profession in civil law, and a man of marvellous memory and vast learning. I ask for him no tribunate, nor prefecture, nor any specific appointment you may kindly offer him; I simply ask your general goodwill and generosity; and I raise no objection, if it so please you, to your also honouring him with these tokens of a little glory. In short I hand him over to you absolutely, from my hand (as they say) to yours[d] —a hand as distinguished for its triumphs in the field, as for its loyalty in friendship. You see I am

[d] A legal phrase, equivalent to the more usual *per manus*.

quamquam per te vix licet; verum, ut video, licebit. Cura, ut valeas, et me, ut amas, ama.

VI

CICERO S. D. TREBATIO

Romae, A.U.C. 700.

1 In omnibus meis epistulis, quas ad Caesarem aut ad Balbum mitto, legitima quaedam est accessio commendationis tuae, nec ea vulgaris, sed cum aliquo insigni indicio meae erga te benevolentiae. Tu modo ineptias istas et desideria Urbis et urbanitatis depone, et, quo consilio profectus es, id assiduitate et virtute consequere. Hoc tibi tam ignoscemus nos amici, quam ignoverunt Medeae,

> quae Corinthum arcem altam habebant, matronae opulentae, optimates:

quibus illa manibus gypsatissimis persuasit, ne sibi vitio illae verterent, quod abesset a patria; nam

> multi suam rem bene gessere et publicam patria procul:
> multi, qui domi aetatem agerent, propterea sunt improbati.

Quo in numero tu certe fuisses, nisi te extrusissemus.

---

[a] Lit. "to be just a little fulsome."

[b] Or "but (from the tone of your letter) I fancy you will pardon my importunity."

[c] C. Trebatius Testa, to whom this and the next sixteen letters are addressed, was a rising young lawyer and an intimate friend of Cicero. He was now in Gaul with good pecuniary prospects, but he pined for Rome. He was no soldier, and Cicero rallies him on his dread of discomfort. In the Civil War he urged Cicero to remain neutral. In his later years he became the friend of Horace, who dedicated to him *Sat.* ii. 1.

[d] With which actors whitened their hands.

inclined "to lay it on with a trowel,"[a] though you will hardly think it pardonable; but I foresee the day when it will be.[b] Pray take care of your health, and continue to love me as you do.

VI

CICERO TO TREBATIUS TESTA[c]

Cumae or Pompeii, May, 54 B.C.

In all my letters to Caesar or to Balbus there is a sort of statutory appendix, to wit, my recommendation of you; and it is no conventional one, but conveys a distinct intimation of my kindly feeling towards you. It only remains for you to get rid of your silly fads and longings for the City and City life, and to maintain consistently and courageously the spirit in which you left home. You will be as readily pardoned for doing so by us, your friends, as Medea was pardoned by the 1

> Dames who held th' high keep of Corinth, dames of opulence, dames of rank,

whom she, with her hands all bleached with chalk,[d] persuaded not to find fault with her for being away from her fatherland, for

> Many a man himself and country well hath served 'neath alien skies;
> Many a man, at home abiding, from his rut hath failed to rise.[e]

And you would certainly have been in the latter

[e] In other words "We will excuse your absence from Rome as the dames of Corinth pardoned Medea for leaving her fatherland when she, extending her whitened hands in entreaty, persuaded them not to blame her for leaving her home in Colchis." The verse quotations in this letter are from the *Medea* of Ennius.

2 Sed plura scribemus alias. Tu, qui ceteris cavere didicisti, in Britannia ne ab essedariis decipiaris, caveto, et, quando *Medeam* agere coepi, illud semper memento :

> qui ipse sibi sapiens prodesse non quit, nequidquam sapit.

Cura, ut valeas.

VII

CICERO TREBATIO

Romae, A.U.C. 700.

1 Ego te commendare non desisto, sed, quid proficiam, ex te scire cupio. Spem maximam habeo in Balbo, ad quem de te diligentissime et saepissime scribo. Illud soleo mirari, non me toties accipere tuas litteras, quoties a Quinto mihi fratre afferantur. In Britannia nihil esse audio neque auri, neque argenti. Id si ita est, essedum aliquod suadeo capias,
2 et ad nos quam primum recurras. Sin autem sine Britannia tamen assequi, quod volumus, possumus, perfice, ut sis in familiaribus Caesaris. Multum te in eo frater adiuvabit meus, multum Balbus, sed, mihi crede, tuus pudor et labor plurimum. Imperatorem liberalissimum, aetatem opportunissimam, commendationem certe singularem habes, ut tibi unum timendum sit, ne ipse tibi defuisse videare.

[a] Trebatius was now about 35.

class, had we not forcibly ejected you. But more of this anon.

You, who have learnt to take precautionary measures for your clients, must look out in Britain that you are not cheated by the charioteers and (since I have taken to acting the *Medea*) always remember the line— 2

> Vainly wise, the fruits of wisdom for himself who cannot pluck.

Take care of your health.

VII

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, May, 54 B.C.

I never cease recommending you, but I am anxious to know from you with what success. My chief hope is in Balbus, to whom I write about you very earnestly and very frequently. I am often surprised at not receiving letters from you as often as I get them from my brother Quintus. I hear that in Britain there is not an ounce of either gold or silver. If that is so, I advise you to capture some war-chariot, and post back to me as soon as you can. 1

If, however, setting Britain aside, we can still attain our object, you must make sure of being one of Caesar's intimate friends. In that my brother will be a great help to you, and so will Balbus; but, believe me, the greatest help of all will be your own modesty and hard work. You have a most generous *imperator*, you are at the most suitable age,[a] and your credentials at any rate are exceptionally good. So the one thing you have to fear is, that people may think that you have not done yourself justice. 2

VIII

CICERO TREBATIO

Romae, A.U.C. 700.

1 Scripsit ad me Caesar perhumaniter, nondum te sibi satis esse familiarem propter occupationes suas, sed certo fore. Cui quidem ego rescripsi, quam mihi gratum esset futurum, si quam plurimum in te studi, offici, liberalitatis suae contulisset. Sed ex tuis litteris cognovi praeproperam quandam festinationem tuam, et simul sum admiratus, cur tribunatus commoda, dempto praesertim labore militiae, con-
2 tempseris. Querar cum Vacerra et Manilio; nam Cornelio nihil audeo dicere, cuius tu periculo stultus es, quando te ab eo sapere didicisse profiteris. Quin tu urges istam occasionem et facultatem, qua melior numquam reperietur. Quod scribis de illo Preciano iureconsulto, ego te ei non desino commendare. Scribit enim ipse mihi, te sibi gratias agere debere. De eo quid sit, cura, ut sciam. Ego vestras litteras Britannicas exspecto.

IX

M. CICERO TREBATIO

Romae, A.U.C. 700.

1 Iamdiu ignoro, quid agas. Nihil enim scribis; neque ego ad te his duobus mensibus scripseram.

[a] Both noted jurists of the day.
[b] Another great lawyer, who had been Trebatius's tutor.
[c] *Sapere* connotes legal learning—"taught you to be a wise lawyer."

VIII

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, August, 54 B.C.

Caesar tells me in a most courteous letter that 1
owing to his being so busy you are not yet as intimate with him as he could wish, but that you certainly will be so. I told him in my reply how grateful I should be if he bestowed upon you all the consideration, kindness, and liberality he could. But in your own letter I discovered a certain excess of hastiness on your part, while at the same time I wondered why you disdained the advantages of a tribuneship, especially with exemption from military duties.

I shall complain of you to Vacerra[a] and Manilius,[a] for I dare not say a word to Cornelius,[b] whose reputation you have endangered by your folly, since you profess that it was he who taught you wisdom.[c] Why not make the best of your chances and opportunity? You will never find a better. You refer in your letter to that great jurist, Precianus; well, I never cease recommending you to him, particularly as he writes to me himself that you owe him some expression of gratitude. Mind you let me know what it is all about. I am on the look-out for letters from yourself and the others in Britain.

IX

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, October, 54 B.C.

It is long since I heard how you are; you never 1
write, and I have not written to you for the last

Quia cum Quinto, fratre meo, non eras, quo mitterem aut cui darem, nesciebam. Cupio scire, quid agas et ubi sis hiematurus. Equidem velim, cum Caesare, sed ad eum propter eius luctum[1] nihil sum ausus
2 scribere. Ad Balbum tamen scripsi. Tu tibi deesse noli—

potius ad nos serius, dum plenior.

Quod huc properes, nihil est, praesertim Battara mortuo. Sed tibi consilium non deest. Quid consti-
3 tueris, cupio scire. Cn. Octavius, an Cn. Cornelius, quidam est, tuus familiaris, "summo genere natus, terrae filius." Is me, quia scit tuum familiarem esse, crebro ad cenam invitat. Adhuc non potuit perducere : sed mihi tamen gratum est.

X

M. CICERO S. D. TREBATIO

Romae, A.U.C. 701.

1 Legi tuas litteras, ex quibus intellexi, te Caesari nostro valde iure consultum videri. Est quod gaudeas, te in ista loca venisse, ubi aliquid sapere viderere. Quod si in Britanniam quoque profectus esses, profecto nemo in illa tanta insula peritior te

[1] *Victorius* : occupationem *Cratander*.

[a] For the death of his daughter Julia, wife of Pompey. She died in September of this year.

[b] Apparently a nickname for the Vacerra mentioned in the preceding letter, perhaps because he stammered.

[c] "*Terrae filius* = (1) a clodhopper, (2) an αὐτόχθων. This man's pedigree went back to the beginning of things, but as a matter of fact he was a clown." T. E. Page.

two months. Since you were not with my brother Quintus, I did not know where, or by whose hand, to send a letter. I am anxious to know how you are getting on, and where you intend spending the winter. I should like you to do so with Caesar, but I have not ventured to write a word to him because
he is in mourning.[a] I have, however, written to 2
Balbus. Don't throw away your chances,—

Better return to us later, so you come with a heavier purse.

There is no reason why you should hurry home, especially now that Battara[b] is dead. But you have something up your sleeve. I am only anxious to know what you have decided to do.

There is a certain Cn. Octavius (or is it Cn. 3
Cornelius ?), a friend of yours, "A man of highest birth, a very son of earth."[c] Well, because he knows I am a friend of yours, he is constantly asking me to dinner. So far he has not been able to induce me to go; still I think it very kind of him.

X

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, December, 54 B.C.

I have read your letter, from which I gather that 1
our friend Caesar considers you an excellent lawyer. You may well congratulate yourself on having reached those regions where you pass as a man of some legal ability ; had you got as far as Britain too, I am sure you would not have found a single man in all that great island more of an expert than yourself.

fuisset. Verumtamen (rideamus licet; sum enim a te invitatus); subinvideo tibi, ultro te etiam arcessitum ab eo, ad quem ceteri, non propter superbiam eius, sed propter occupationem aspirare non possunt.

2 Sed tu in ista epistula nihil mihi scripsisti de tuis rebus, quae mehercule mihi non minori curae sunt, quam meae. Valde metuo, ne frigeas in hibernis; quamobrem camino luculento utendum censeo; idem Mucio et Manilio placebat, praesertim qui sagis non abundares. Quamquam vos nunc istic satis calere audio; quo quidem nuntio valde mehercule de te timueram. Sed tu in re militari multo es cautior, quam in advocationibus, qui neque in Oceano natare volueris, studiosissimus homo natandi, neque spectare essedarios, quem antea ne andabata quidem defraudare poteramus. Sed iam satis iocati sumus.

3 Ego de te ad Caesarem quam diligenter scripserim, tute scis; quam saepe, ego. Sed mehercule iam intermiseram, ne viderer liberalissimi hominis meique amantissimi voluntati erga me diffidere. Sed tamen his litteris, quas proxime dedi, putavi esse hominem commonendum. Id feci. Quid profecerim, facias me velim certiorem, et simul de toto statu tuo consiliisque omnibus. Scire enim cupio, quid agas, quid

[a] Perhaps with a hint of the metaphorical meaning of *frigere*—"that you have nothing to do." In the next sentence *calere* is obviously metaphorical. Tyrrell.

[b] A reference to the rising of the Gauls under Ambiorix.

[c] For Trebatius's love of swimming see Hor. *Sat.* ii. 1. 8.

[d] The *andabatae* fought blindfold so as to amuse the lowest class of spectator.

But, be that as it may (I am free to laugh, for you challenged me to do so), I am just a little jealous of you—that you were actually summoned without your asking for it by one whom the rest of the world do not aspire to approach, not because he is so proud, but because he is so busy.

But you told me nothing in your letter about your affairs, which I declare to you are of no less interest to me than my own. I am very much afraid that you feel the cold [a] in your winter-quarters; and for that reason, in my judgment, you should have a nice bright stove; such too is the "considered opinion of counsel"—Mucius and Manilius—especially as you have no superabundance of military cloaks. But no! I hear you are now having quite a hot time of it over there [b]—a bit of news that, I assure you, filled me with alarm on your account. You are, however, far more cautious as a soldier than in the legal advice you give, since, enthusiastic swimmer [c] as you are, you showed no desire for a swim in the Ocean, or to see a parade of the British charioteers, though at Rome we have never been able to cheat you of so much as a blindfolded gladiator.[d] But there, I have joked enough. 2

How earnestly I have written to Caesar about you, you know yourself; how often, I alone know. But now, I confess, I have broken off the correspondence, for fear I should be thought to distrust the friendly feeling of one so generous and so fond of me. But for all that in my last letter to him I thought it well to jog his memory. I did so. With what success, I should like you to let me know, and to tell me at the same time all about your position and plans. For I am really anxious to know how you are getting on, 3

exspectes, quam longum istum tuum discessum a nobis futurum putes. Sic enim tibi persuadeas velim, unum mihi esse solatium, quare facilius possim pati te esse sine nobis, si tibi esse id emolumento sciam; sin autem id non est, nihil duobus nobis est stultius, me, qui te non Romam attraham, te, qui non huc advoles. Una mehercule nostra vel severa vel iocosa congressio pluris erit quam non modo hostes, sed etiam fratres nostri Haedui. Quare omnibus de rebus fac ut quam primum sciam.

Aut consolando aut consilio aut re iuvero.

XI

CICERO TREBATIO

Romae, A.U.C. 701.

1 Nisi ante Roma profectus esses, nunc eam certe relinqueres. Quis enim, tot interregnis, iure consultum desiderat? Ego omnibus, unde petitur, hoc consili dederim, ut a singulis interregibus binas advocationes postulent. Satisne tibi videor abs te
2 ius civile didicisse? Sed heus tu, quid agis? Ecquid

[a] Of whom the Senate had spoken as "fratres consanguineique," "brothers and kinsmen."

[b] Terence, *Heaut.* 86.

[c] No legal business could be transacted during an *interregnum*, and this year (53) such disorder prevailed at Rome, due to the obstructive tactics of the tribunes, that the *interregna* continued up to July, when consuls were at last appointed. An *interregnum* (a term continued after the expulsion of the kings) meant, under the republic, the time between the death or retirement of the consuls and the election of new ones.

what your expectations are, and how long you think your absence from us is likely to last. Pray assure yourself of this, that the one consolation I have to enable me to bear more easily your absence from among us is, that I assume it to be to your material advantage. If it is not, well, then we are a pair of the biggest fools alive, I for not hauling you back to Rome, you for not winging your way home. I am positive that a single interview, be it grave or gay, between us will be worth more, not only than the enemy, but even than "our right trusty cousins" the Haedui.[a] So make sure of informing me on all points as soon as possible;

Comfort, or counsel, or my purse,—'tis thine.[b]

XI

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, January, 53 B.C.

Had you not gone abroad before, you would certainly leave Rome behind you now. Who feels the want of a lawyer, when there are so many *interregna* [c]? My own advice to all petitioners would be to insist upon two adjournments from each *interrex* [d]! Are you satisfied with the civil procedure I have learnt from you? 1

But look you here, how are you getting on? Is 2

[d] As each *interrex* only held office for five days, a defendant who got two "adjournments for obtaining legal assistance (*advocationes*)," each *advocatio* being for three days, would be safe during the *interregnum*.

fit? Video enim te iam iocari per litteras. Haec signa meliora sunt, quam in meo Tusculano. Sed quid sit, scire cupio. Consuli quidem te a Caesare scribis, sed ego tibi ab illo consuli mallem. Quod si aut fit aut futurum putas, perfer istam militiam et permane; ego enim desiderium tui spe tuorum commodorum consolabor; sin autem ista sunt inaniora, recipe te ad nos. Nam aut erit hic aliquid aliquando aut, si minus, una mehercule collocutio nostra pluris erit, quam omnes Samarobrivae. Denique, si cito te rettuleris, sermo nullus erit; si diutius frustra abfueris, non modo Laberium, sed etiam sodalem nostrum Valerium pertimesco. Mira enim persona
3 induci potest Britannici iure consulti. Haec ego non rideo, quamvis tu rideas, sed de re severissima tecum, ut soleo, iocor. Remoto ioco, tibi hoc amicissimo animo praecipio, ut, si istic mea commendatione tuam dignitatem obtinebis, perferas nostri desiderium, honestatem et facultates tuas augeas; sin autem ista frigebunt, recipias te ad nos. Omnia tamen, quae vis, et tua virtute profecto et nostro summo erga te studio consequere.

[a] There is a play on the two meanings of *signa*—"signs" and "statues," hard to reproduce in English; "this *shows* a better state of things than do the *shows* at my Tusculan villa."

[b] Samarobriva, the modern Amiens, was the chief town of Gallia Belgica.

[c] A noted writer of farces (*mimi*).

[d] "If it turns out to be a frost," as we should say.

there any development? For I observe a certain jocularity in your last letters. These are better signs than the signs of bad art at my Tusculan villa.[a] But I am anxious to know what it all means. You certainly write that Caesar consults you; but I had much rather he consulted your interests. But if there is any development or you think there will be, persevere in your military service and stay on; for though I shall miss you, the hope of your profiting by so doing will cheer me up; but if it is all moonshine, come back to us. You may take it that something or other will turn up here some day or other, or even if it doesn't, I swear that a single chat between us will be worth more than all your Samarobrivas[b] put together. To conclude, if you return speedily, there will be no talk about it; if you stay away much longer with nothing to show for it, I shudder at the thought not only of what Laberius,[c] but also of what our comrade Valerius may do. For a most surprising character might be put on the stage,—"The Lawyer in Britain."

I am not laughing at all this, however much you 3
may laugh; I am but jesting with you, as I so often do, on a most serious subject. But joking apart, I give you, in the true spirit of friendship, this piece of advice,—if you establish your position out there with the help of my recommendation, never mind the loss of my society, but promote your own prestige, and add to your wealth; if, however, the prospect is chilling,[d] come back to us. But as a matter of fact you will assuredly, both by your own merits and by my very sincere devotion to you, obtain everything you desire.

XII

CICERO TREBATIO

Romae, A.U.C. 701.

1 Mirabar, quid esset, quod tu mihi litteras mittere
intermisisses. Indicavit mihi Pansa meus, Epi-
cureum te esse factum. O castra praeclara! Quid
tu fecisses, si te Tarentum, et non Samarobrivam
misissem? Iam tum mihi non placebas, cum idem
2 intuebare, quod et Selius[1] familiaris meus. Sed
quonam modo ius civile defendes, cum omnia tua
causa facias, non civium? Ubi porro illa erit formula
fiduciae, *ut inter bonos bene agier oportet*? Quis enim
est bonus, qui facit nihil, nisi sua causa? Quod ius
statues COMMUNI DIVIDUNDO, cum commune nihil
possit esse apud eos, qui omnia voluptate sua metiun-
tur? Quomodo autem tibi placebit, IOVEM LAPIDEM
iurare, cum scias Iovem iratum esse nemini posse?
Quid porro fiet populo Ulubrano, si statueris πολι-

[1] *Klotz*: Seius *Victorius*: zeius *M.*

[a] C. Vibius Pansa, who was now at Rome, standing for the tribunate, which he obtained for 52-51.

[b] The most luxurious of winter resorts. Cicero means that if the rough camp life at Samarobriva, so far from making a man of Trebatius, had turned him into an Epicurean, what would the softness of Tarentum have made of him?

[c] Who Selius was, and what his opinions were, is unknown except that he was some sort of an Epicurean. Cicero, who always scoffs at the Epicureans, indicates the difficulties in Trebatius's way if he becomes an Epicurean, *e.g.* "How can he be *bonus*, if he only regards his own individual well-being, or call the gods to witness if they are 'careless of

XII

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, February, 53 B.C.

I was wondering why it was that you had stopped 1
writing to me. Well, my friend Pansa[a] has let it
out—you have turned Epicurean! What a marvellous
camp! What would you have done had I sent you,
not to Samarobriva, but to Tarentum[b]? I felt there
was something amiss with you, ever since you
supported the same views as my friend Selius.[c] But 2
how on earth will you uphold the principles of civil law,
when your every act is for yourself alone and not for
your fellow-citizens? Besides, what will become of the
legal formula in cases of trust, *that dealings between
honest men should be in accordance with honesty*? For
who is an honest man, who does nothing except
what is to his own interest? What will be your
legal ruling as to *dividing what is held in common*,
when nothing can be held in common among those
whose one standard of conduct is their own pleasure?
Again, how will you fancy swearing by *Jupiter and
the Stone*,[d] when you know well enough that it is
impossible for Jupiter to be angry with anybody?
What, moreover, will become of your people of
Ulubrae,[e] if you lay it down that it is improper to

mankind,' or act as *patronus*, if all public activity is forbidden?"

[d] The swearer of that oath took up a stone saying "If wittingly I break my oath, then may Diespiter cast me out of my possessions as I cast away this stone."

[e] Ulubrae was a *municipium*, of which Trebatius was the *patronus*.

τεύεσθαι non oportere? Quare si plane a nobis deficis, moleste fero; sin Pansae assentari commodum est, ignosco. Modo scribe aliquando ad nos, quid agas, et a nobis quid fieri aut curari velis.

XIII

M. CICERO S. D. TREBATIO

Romae, A.U.C. 701.

1 Adeone me iniustum esse existimasti, ut tibi irascerer, quod parum mihi constans et nimium cupidus decedendi viderere, ob eamque causam me arbitrarere litteras ad te iamdiu non misisse? Mihi perturbatio animi tui, quam primis litteris perspiciebam, molestiam attulit. Neque alia ulla fuit causa intermissionis epistolarum, nisi quod, ubi esses, plane nesciebam. Hic tu me etiam insimulas, nec satisfactionem meam accipis? Audi, Testa mi. Utrum superbiorem te pecunia facit, an quod te imperator consulit? Moriar, ni, quae tua gloria est, puto te malle a Caesare consuli, quam inaurari. Si vero utrumque est, quis te feret praeter me, qui
2 omnia ferre possum? Sed, ut ad rem redeam, te istic invitum non esse vehementer gaudeo; et, ut illud erat molestum, sic hoc est iucundum. Tantum

[a] *i.e.* "enriched." *Cf.* Shakespeare, *Merchant of Venice*, II. vi. 50: "I will make fast the doors, and gild myself with some more ducats."

"discharge the functions of a citizen"? So if you are really and truly deserting us, I am sorry; but if it only suits you for the time to humour Pansa, I forgive you. Only do write to me some time or other, and tell me what you are doing, and what you wish me to do or to attend to for you.

XIII

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, March 4, 53 B.C.

Did you really imagine that I was so unjust as to 1
be angry with you because I thought you were too restless, and too eager to leave Rome, and do you suppose that that is why I have not written to you for so long? Why, the agitation of mind you so clearly showed in your first letter to me gave me pain; and there was no other reason whatever for the break in my correspondence but the fact that I had not the slightest idea where you were. Look here, do you really mean this accusation, and refuse to accept my apology? Listen to me, my good Testa! Is it money that swells your pride, or the fact that you are being consulted by an *imperator*? Upon my life, I believe that, ambitious as you are, you would rather be consulted by Caesar than gilded[a] by him. If it is both, who in the world will put up with you except myself, who can put up with anything?

But, to return to my point; I am extremely glad 2
that you have no objection to being where you are, and as your former restlessness was a pain, your present contentment is a pleasure to me. I am only

metuo, ne artificium tuum tibi parum prosit. Nam, ut audio, istic

> non ex iure manum consertum, sed mage ferro rem repetunt.

At tu non soles[1] ad vim faciundam adhiberi, neque est quod illam exceptionem in interdicto pertimescas : QUOD TU PRIOR VI HOMINIBUS ARMATIS NON VENERIS : Scio enim, te non esse procacem in lacessendo. Sed, ut ego quoque te aliquid admoneam de vestris cautionibus, Treviros vites censeo. Audio capitales esse. Mallem auro, aere, argento essent. Sed alias iocabimur. Tu ad me de istis rebus omnibus scribas velim quam diligentissime.

XIV

CICERO TREBATIO

Romae, A.U.C. 701.

1 Chrysippus Vettius, Cyri architecti libertus, fecit, ut te non immemorem putarem mei ; salutem enim

[1] *So reads Shuckburgh* : et tu soles *M*.

[a] *Manum ex iure conserere* = "to make a joint seizure," the litigant parties laying their hands simultaneously on the property in dispute, each claiming it as his own. There is also a reference to *manum conserere* in the sense of "to join battle." The quotation is from Ennius, *Annales*, 275.

[b] He means that if the claimant *had* used violence, his opponent, according to the proviso, would have the right of reprisal.

[c] A play on *Treviri* (a formidable tribe in Gaul) and *Tresviri*, (1) the *Tresviri capitales* who had charge of prisoners, executions, etc. (though *capitales* here may also mean "deadly folk to deal with"), and (2) the *Tresviri* *auro argento aeri flando feriundo*, for casting and stamping coins in those metals. Cicero means he would rather see Trebatius on his way to make a fortune than risking his life on the field of battle.

afraid that your profession brings you no adequate profit ; for I am told that out there

> Not legally by touch of hand,[a] but more
> By steel they make their claims.

But *you* are not accustomed to be briefed to employ violence, and there is no reason for your dreading that reservation in the injunction, "since you have not taken the initiative in forcing an entry by violence and armed men."[b] No, for I am sure you are not given to issuing provocative challenges.

But that I too may give you a word of warning about your legal "securities," it is my opinion that you should fight shy of the Treviri. I hear they are like our Tresviri, who see to it that malefactors die ; I had rather it were the "*die*" used by our other Tresviri, for coining gold, silver, and copper.[c] But we can have our joke some other time. I should be glad if you would write to me about all your affairs with the greatest possible particularity.

XIV

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, March (?), 53 B.C.

Chrysippus Vettius, Cyrus[d] the architect's freedman, has given me reason to think that you have not quite forgotten me ; for he passed your greeting on

[d] The architect whom Cicero always employed.

verbis tuis mihi nuntiarat. Valde iam lautus es, qui gravere litteras ad me dare, homini praesertim prope domestico. Quod si scribere oblitus es, minus multi iam, te advocato, causa cadent; sin nostri oblitus es, dabo operam, ut istuc veniam ante, quam plane ex animo tuo effluo; sin aestivorum timor te debilitat, aliquid excogita, ut fecisti de Britannia.
2 Illud quidem perlibenter audivi ex eodem Chrysippo, te esse Caesari familiarem. Sed mehercule mallem, id quod erat aequius, de tuis rebus ex tuis litteris quam saepissime cognoscere. Quod certe ita fieret, si tu maluisses benevolentiae, quam litium iura perdiscere. Sed haec iocati sumus, et tuo more, et nonnihil etiam nostro. Te valde amamus, nosque a te amari cum volumus, tum etiam confidimus.

XV

CICERO TREBATIO

Romae, A.U.C. 701.

1 *Quam sint morosi, qui amant,* vel ex hoc intellegi potest—moleste ferebam antea, te invitum istic esse; pungit me rursus, quod scribis esse te

[a] Lit. "to write a letter," but here obviously used in a legal sense, "to draft a document."
[b] Or "more friendly," Tyrrell, who quotes iii. 6. 6 "aequi et iniqui," "friends and foes."

to me in your own words. A mighty fine person you have become, to find it a nuisance to send me on a letter, especially now that I am almost one of the family. But if you have forgotten how to write a letter,[a] there will at once be a decrease in the number of those who lose their cases through engaging you; if you have forgotten *me*, I shall make an effort to visit you at your quarters, before I slip out of your mind altogether; but if it is the alarming prospect of your summer quarters that unnerves you, you must devise some means of escape, as you did in the case of Britain.

One thing I was told by that same Chrysippus, 2
which gave me great pleasure—that you are on familiar terms with Caesar. But, upon my word, I would rather, and it would be more proper[b] too, that I should be informed of your affairs by your writing to me yourself as often as possible; and you would certainly do so if you had chosen to make yourself thoroughly acquainted with the claims of friendship rather than the claims of litigation. But this is all in joke; it is your way, and to some extent mine also. I love you much, and I would have you love me too, as indeed I am sure you do.

XV

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, June (?), 53 B.C.

How hard to please are those who love, one may 1
gather even from such an instance as this—at first I was annoyed that you did not like being where you are; and now again your writing to say that you like

istic libenter. Neque enim mea commendatione te non delectari facile patiebar, et nunc angor quidquam tibi sine me esse iucundum. Sed hoc tamen malo ferre nos desiderium, quam te non ea, quae
2 spero, consequi. Quod vero in C. Mati, suavissimi doctissimique hominis, familiaritatem venisti, non dici potest, quam valde gaudeam; qui fac ut te quam maxime diligat. Mihi crede, nihil ex ista provincia potes, quod iucundius sit, deportare. Cura ut valeas.

XVI

M. CICERO S. D. TREBATIO

Romae, A.U.C. 700.

1 In *Equo Troiano* scis esse in extremo, *sero sapiunt*. Tu tamen, mi vetule, non sero. Primas illas rabiosulas sat fatuas dedisti. Deinde, quod in Britannia non nimis φιλοθέωρον te praebuisti, plane non reprehendo. Nunc vero in hibernis intectus mihi videris. Itaque te commovere non curas.

Usquequaque sapere oportet; id erit telum acerrimum.

2 Ego si foris cenitarem, Cn. Octavio, familiari tuo,

[a] Little is known of Matius beyond what we glean from this reference to him, and from the two letters xi. 27 and 28. See note to the former letter.

[b] Ascribed to both Livius and Naevius. *In extremo* may be part of the quotation—"when all is over."

[c] *Vetule*, perhaps implying that Trebatius was old for his years, or simply as a term of endearment, like *mon vieux*.

[d] *Cf.* vii. 9. 3.

it gives me a pang of pain. For I was inclined to resent your not being delighted with the course I recommended, and now I am quite distressed that you can find pleasure in anything without me. But for all that I had sooner endure my own loss of your company than your failing to get all I hope you will.

To change the subject, I cannot tell you how 2
exceedingly glad I am that you have become intimate with that most charming and erudite man, C. Matius.[a] Make a point of winning his most sincere regard. Believe me, there is nothing you can bring home with you from that province of yours which would give me greater pleasure. Take care of yourself.

XVI

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, November, 54 B.C.

You know the words in the *Trojan Horse*,[b] 1
towards the end of it, *man's wisdom comes too late*. But with you, my dear old man,[c] it is not too late. Those first rather snappish letters of yours were quite silly. Subsequently—well, I find no fault at all with you for not showing too great a passion for sightseeing in the matter of Britain. Now, however, I understand you are in winter-quarters insufficiently clothed and therefore disinclined to be up and doing. Well,

Be wise in your every deed and word;
The keenest of weapons is Wisdom's sword.

Had I been in the habit of dining out, I should 2
not have disappointed your friend Cn. Octavius[d];

non defuissem. Cui tamen dixi, cum me aliquoties invitaret: "Oro te, quis tu es?" Sed mehercules, extra iocum, homo bellus est; vellem eum tecum
3 abduxisses. Quid agatis, et ecquid in Italiam venturi sitis hac hieme, fac plane sciam. Balbus mihi confirmavit te divitem futurum. Id utrum Romano more locutus sit, bene nummatum te futurum, an, quomodo Stoici dicunt, *omnes esse divites, qui caelo et terra frui possint*, postea videro. Qui istinc veniunt, superbiam tuam accusant, quod negent te percontantibus respondere. Sed tamen est quod gaudeas. Constat enim inter omnes, neminem te uno Samarobrivae iuris peritiorem esse.

XVII

CICERO S. D. TREBATIO

Romae, A.U.C. 700.

1 Ex tuis litteris et Quinto fratri gratias egi et te aliquando collaudare possum, quod iam videris certa aliqua in sententia constitisse. Nam primorum mensium litteris tuis vehementer commovebar, quod mihi interdum (pace tua dixerim) levis in Urbis urbanitatisque desiderio, interdum piger, interdum timidus in labore militari, saepe autem etiam, quod

[a] *i.e.*, "that you refuse to give a civil answer to a civil question," which as Reid says, was regarded by the Romans as a typical act of rudeness. But *respondere* also means "to give counsel's opinion," and implies that Trebatius treated his clients *de haut en bas*.

[b] See note to vii. 11. 2.

[c] It should be noted that this letter was written in *October*, and the *preceding* letter in *November*, 54 B.C., so that their order should be reversed.

though, when he invited me ever so often, the only answer he got from me was "and pray who are *you*?" But really, joking apart, he is quite a nice little man; how I wish you had taken him away with you!

Be sure you let me know exactly what you are all 3 doing, and whether there is any likelihood whatever of your all coming to Italy this winter. Balbus has positively assured me that you are going to be a rich man. Whether he spoke with the literal directness of a Roman, and meant that you would be a *moneyed* man, or, as the Stoics have it, *that all are rich who can enjoy the open air and the earth*, I shall see later. Those who come from your neighbourhood object to your superciliousness, because they say you give no reply to those who ask you questions.[a] But anyhow you have one reason for exultation—they are all agreed that there is no better lawyer in all Samarobriva[b] than yourself; you stand alone.

XVII

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, October, 54 B.C.[c]

As a result of your letter I have thanked my 1 brother Quintus, and am able at last to compliment you on having now apparently taken your stand upon some definite decision. For your letters during the first months used to worry me exceedingly, because it seemed to me that you were sometimes—pardon my saying so—capricious in your longings for the city and city life, sometimes indolent, sometimes timorous in your military duties, and often too—a

a te alienissimum est, subimpudens videbare. Tamquam enim syngrapham ad imperatorem, non epistolam attulisses, sic, pecunia ablata, domum redire properabas; nec tibi in mentem veniebat, eos ipsos, qui cum syngraphis venissent Alexandriam, num-
2 mum adhuc nullum auferre potuisse. Ego, si mei commodi rationem ducerem, te mecum esse maxime vellem. Non enim mediocri afficiebar vel voluptate ex consuetudine nostra, vel utilitate ex consilio atque opera tua. Sed cum te ex adulescentia tua in amicitiam et fidem meam contulisses, semper te non modo tuendum mihi, sed etiam augendum atque ornandum putavi. Itaque quoad opinatus sum, me in provinciam exiturum, quae ad te ultro attulerim, meminisse te credo. Posteaquam mea mutata ratio est, cum viderem me a Caesare honorificentissime tractari et unice diligi, hominisque liberalitatem incredibilem et singularem fidem nossem, sic ei te commendavi et tradidi, ut gravissime diligentissimeque potui. Quod ille ita accepit; et mihi saepe litteris significavit, et tibi et verbis et re ostendit, mea commendatione sese valde esse commotum. Hunc tu virum nactus, si me aut sapere aliquid aut velle tua causa putas, ne dimiseris; et, si qua te forte res aliquando offenderit, cum ille aut occupatione aut difficultate tardior tibi erit visus, perferto,

[a] Ptolemy Auletes had borrowed immense sums of money, which he used for purposes of bribery in Rome, from Roman speculators whom he never repaid.

[b] When Cicero thought of going on foreign service as *legatus* to Pompey, he offered to take Trebatius with him; *cf.* vii. 5 1.

thing most foreign to your nature—just a little presumptuous. For you were in a hurry to snatch the money and return home, just as if what you had brought the commander-in-chief was not a letter of recommendation, but a bill of exchange; and it never occurred to you that even those who went to Alexandria with bills of exchange[a] have never yet been able to bring away a single penny.

Were I to consider my own interests, I should 2
very much like to have you with me here; for I appreciated in no small degree, whether it was the pleasure of our intimacy, or the benefit I derived from your advice and assistance. But seeing that you have thrown yourself ever since you were a lad upon my friendship and protection, I deemed it incumbent upon me not only to guard your interests, but also to promote your advancement and distinction. And therefore, so long as I imagined that I should be leaving Rome for a province—well, I am sure you remember the offer I made you unasked.[b] After the change in my plans, observing that Caesar was treating me with marked honour and exceptional regard, and recognizing the man's amazing liberality and uncommon sincerity, I introduced and recommended you to him with all the gravity and earnestness in my power. What I said he accepted in the same spirit, and he has often indicated to me in his letters, and shown you too by word and deed, that he was deeply impressed by my recommendation. Having got hold of such a man (if you think I have any sense, or any desire to serve you) don't let him go; and if now and again anything happens to offend you, when, owing either to his being busy or to some other hindrance, you have thought him

et ultima exspectato; quae ego tibi et iucunda et
3 honesta praestabo. Pluribus te hortari non debeo. Tantum moneo, neque amicitiae confirmandae clarissimi ac liberalissimi viri, neque uberioris provinciae neque aetatis magis idoneum tempus, si hoc amiseris, te esse ullum umquam reperturum. Hoc, quemadmodum vos scribere soletis in vestris libris, idem Q. Cornelio videbatur. In Britanniam te profectum non esse gaudeo, quod et labore caruisti, et ego te de rebus illis non audiam. Ubi sis hibernaturus, et qua spe aut condicione, perscribas ad me velim.

XVIII

CICERO S. D. TREBATIO

In Pomptino, A.U.C. 701.

1 Accepi a te aliquot epistulas uno tempore, quas tu diversis temporibus dederas, in quibus me cetera delectarunt; significabant enim te istam militiam iam firmo animo ferre, et esse fortem virum et constantem. Quae ego paullisper in te ita desideravi, non imbecillitate animi tui, sed magis, ut desiderio nostri te aestuare putarem. Quare perge, ut coepisti; forti animo istam tolera militiam; multa, mihi crede,

[a] See note to *Ep.* 8. 2 above.

too dilatory, possess your soul in patience and look forward to the ultimate issue; I will guarantee its being both gratifying and honourable to you.

I have no business to prolong this exhortation; only 3
I warn you that if you miss this opportunity, you will never find a more favourable chance of firmly establishing a friendship with a most distinguished and generous man, of getting a richer province, or of making the best of your time of life. In this, as your lawyers always put it in your Reports, Q. Cornelius[a] "concurs." I am glad you have not set out for Britain for two reasons—it has relieved you of some hard work, and I shall not have to listen to your experiences in that country. I should like you to write and tell me all about where, and with what prospects, and under what conditions, you are likely to spend the winter.

XVIII

CICERO TO THE SAME

Ager Pomptinus, April 8, 53 B.C.

I have received several letters from you at the same 1
time, though you had sent them at different times. Now with one exception they gave me great pleasure, for they showed that you were taking your military service in a spirit of resolution, and were a man of courage and firmness—qualities which for some little time I did miss in you, not because of any weakness in your character, but rather so far as to think that you were restless because you missed me. Go on then as you have begun; face your military duties with a gallant heart; believe me, you will gain much

assequere; ego enim renovabo commendationem, sed tempore. Sic habeto, non tibi maiori esse curae, ut iste tuus a me discessus quam fructuosissimus tibi sit, quam mihi. Itaque, quando vestrae cautiones infirmae sunt, Graeculam tibi misi cautionem chirographi mei. Tu me velim de ratione Gallici belli certiorem facias; ego enim ignavissimo cuique maxi-
2 mam fidem habeo. Sed, ut ad epistolas tuas redeam, cetera belle, illud miror; quis solet eodem exemplo plures dare, qui sua manu scribit? Nam quod in palimpsesto, laudo equidem parsimoniam. Sed miror, quid in illa chartula fuerit, quod delere malueris, quam haec non scribere, nisi forte tuas formulas. Non enim puto te meas epistolas delere, ut reponas tuas. An hoc significas, nihil fieri? frigere te, ne chartam quidem tibi suppeditare? Iam ista tua culpa est, qui verecundiam tecum
3 extuleris, et non hic nobiscum reliqueris. Ego te Balbo, cum ad vos proficiscetur, more Romano commendabo. Tu, si intervallum longius erit mearum litterarum, ne sis admiratus; eram enim abfuturus mense Aprili. Has litteras scripsi in Pomptino, cum ad villam M. Aemili Philemonis devertissem, ex qua

[a] This probably means that Cicero had sent Trebatius a private letter of instructions as to his behaviour towards Caesar, and that, to ensure secrecy, he had written it in such Greek as he could command, and in his own hand.

[b] On the principle that "lookers on see most of the game."

[c] Cicero thinks Trebatius too bashful in pushing his fortunes. "He should have left his shyness at home."

by it; I shall, of course, repeat my recommendation of you, but all in good time. Be assured of this, that you are no more anxious than I am myself that your separation from me should bear you as rich a harvest as possible. And so, since what you lawyers term "guarantees" don't hold water, I have sent you a "guarantee" in Greek of a sort,—and in my own handwriting.[a] I should like you to inform me as to the development of the war in Gaul; for the less of a fighter my informant is, the more I trust him.[b]

But to revert to your letters; in every other 2
respect they were quite nice, but one thing puzzles me; who is ever in the habit of writing several exact duplicates of his letters—that is, if he writes them with his own hand? As to your using a palimpsest, I admire your thrift. But I am wondering what could have been on that scrap of parchment that you should have been willing to erase it rather than not write what you do,—unless perhaps it was some of your legal rigmaroles. For I am sure you do not erase my letters to write your own on the top of them. Do you really mean to imply that there is nothing doing, that you are out-at-elbows, and that you have even run short of writing-paper? Well, if so, it is your own fault for having added your bashfulness to your kit, and not left it at home with us.[c]

I shall recommend you to Balbus in good old 3
Roman terms, when he sets out to join you. You must not be surprised if there is a longer interval than usual between my letters; for I am likely to be away in the month of April. In fact I am writing this letter in the Pomptine district, having broken my journey at M. Aemilius Philemon's villa, where I

iam audieram fremitum clientium meorum, quos quidem tu mihi conciliasti. Nam Ulubris honoris mei causa vim maximam ranunculorum se commosse constabat. Cura, ut valeas. vi. Idus April. de Pomptino.

4 Epistolam tuam, quam accepi ab L. Arruntio, conscidi innocentem; nihil enim habebat, quod non vel in contione recte legi posset. Sed et Arruntius ita te mandasse aiebat, et tu ascripseras. Verum illud esto. Nihil te ad me postea scripsisse demiror, praesertim tam novis rebus.

XIX

CICERO TREBATIO S.

Rhegii, A.U.C. 710.

Vide, quanti apud me sis; etsi iure id quidem; non enim te amore vinco. Verumtamen quod praesenti tibi prope subnegaram, non tribueram certe, id absenti debere non potui. Itaque, ut primum Velia navigare coepi, institui *Topica* Aristotelea conscribere, ab ipsa Urbe commonitus, amantissima tui. Eum

[a] Trebatius was *patronus* of Ulubrae, and during his absence had left Cicero in charge of his clients there. Being near the Pomptine marshes, Ulubrae was overrun with frogs, and Cicero pretends that *they* were the clients Trebatius had made over to him.

[b] He refers to the great rising in Gaul in 54 and 53, and the second expedition across the Rhine.

[c] Cicero, disgusted with the state of affairs under Antony, is now on his way to Greece, and sends this letter (dated eight days later than the next) from Rhegium on the coast of Bruttium, whither he had sailed from Velia in Lucania, where Trebatius had a house, occupied by Cicero in his absence.

have already heard the distant din of my clients—those, I mean, whom you so kindly introduced to me. For everybody knows that at Ulubrae[a] a powerful chorus of dear little frogs have exerted themselves to do me honour. Take care of yourself. April 8th from the Pomptine district.

Your letter, delivered to me by L. Arruntius, I 4
have torn up, though it did not deserve such a fate; for it contained nothing that might not have been quite properly read out, even at a public meeting. But not only did Arruntius say that such were your instructions, but you had yourself added a note to that effect. But let that be. I am greatly surprised at your not having written anything to me subsequently, especially in these sensational times.[b]

XIX

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rhegium,[c] July 28, 44 B.C.

See how highly I esteem you! And yet that is only as it should be; for I do not excel you in affection. Be that as it may, what I had almost been inclined to refuse you, at any rate did not grant you, when you were present, that I could not leave as an unpaid debt to you in your absence. So as soon as I began my voyage from Velia I set about writing a summary of the *Topics* of Aristotle,[d] being reminded to do so by the sight of a city so sincerely devoted to you. That book I sent you from Rhegium,

[d] Aristotle's τόποι are Cicero's *loci communes*: "general arguments" or "commonplaces," dealt with in his *Topica*.

librum tibi misi Rhegio, scriptum quam planissime res illa scribi potuit. Sin tibi quaedam videbuntur obscuriora, cogitare debebis, nullam artem litteris sine interprete et sine aliqua exercitatione percipi posse. Non longe abieris; num ius civile vestrum ex libris cognosci potest? qui quamquam plurimi sunt, doctorem tamen lumenque[1] desiderant. Quamquam tu si attente leges, si saepius, per te omnia consequere, ut certe intellegas. Ut vero etiam ipsi tibi loci, proposita quaestione, occurrant, exercitatione consequere. In qua quidem nos te continebimus, si et salvi redierimus et salva ista offenderimus. v. Kal. Sext. Rhegio.

XX

CICERO S. D. TREBATIO

Veliae, A.U.C. 710.

1 Amabilior mihi Velia fuit, quod te ab ea sensi amari. Sed quid ego dicam te, quem quis non amat? Rufio, medius fidius, tuus ita desiderabatur, ut si esset unus e nobis. Sed ego te non reprehendo, qui illum ad aedificationem tuam traduxeris. Quamquam enim Velia non est vilior, quam Lupercal, tamen istuc malo, quam haec omnia. Tu, si me audies, quem soles, has paternas possessiones tenebis;

[1] *Manutius*: usumque *Egnatius*: nonnumquam *Lambinus*.

[a] Or "sections," suggesting answers to particular questions.

[b] A slave manumitted by Trebatius and probably his architect, whom Trebatius had transferred from Velia to Rome to superintend the building of a house there.

[c] A grotto on the Palatine Hill, sacred to Lupercus (the Lycean Pan).

and it is written as clearly as it was possible to write on such a subject. But if certain passages strike you as a little obscure, you should reflect that no art can be mastered by mere reading without someone to explain, or without a good deal of practice. You will not need to go far to find proof of that; can your own civil law be learnt from books alone? Though there is no lack of such books, they still require a teacher to elucidate them. And yet if you read this with concentration and over and over again, you will get all you want by yourself, at least so far as to grasp the meaning of it. But that the appropriate headings[a] should occur to you when a question is proposed, you will only secure by practice. And to that practice I for my part shall keep you, if I return safe and find all safe with you. July 28th, from Rhegium.

XX

CICERO TO THE SAME

Velia, July 20, 44 B.C.

I found Velia all the dearer to me, because I felt that you are dear to Velia. But why should I say that of *you*, who are universally beloved? Why, upon my honour, even your man Rufio,[b] is as sorely missed here as if he were one of us; not that I am finding fault with you for transferring his services to your own house-building. For though Velia is every bit as grand as the Lupercal,[c] I would rather be where you are than have all there is here. If you listen to me, and you generally do, you will cling on to these ancestral demesnes of yours (for 1

(nescio quid enim Velienses verebantur), neque Halethem nobilem amnem relinques nec Papirianam domum deseres. Quamquam illa quidem habet lotum, a quo etiam advenae teneri solent; quem
2 tamen si excideris, multum prospexeris. Sed in primis opportunum videtur, his praesertim temporibus, habere perfugium, primum eorum urbem, quibus carus sis, deinde tuam domum tuosque agros; eaque remoto, salubri, amoeno loco; idque etiam mea interesse, mi Trebati, arbitror. Sed valebis, meaque negotia videbis, meque dis iuvantibus ante brumam
3 exspectabis. Ego a Sex. Fadio, Niconis discipulo, librum abstuli, Νίκωνος περὶ πολυφαγίας. O medicum suavem, meque docilem ad hanc disciplinam! Sed Bassus noster me de hoc libro celavit; te quidem non videtur. Ventus increbrescit. Cura, ut valeas. xiii. Kal. Sext. Velia.

XXI

CICERO S. D. TREBATIO

A.U.C. 710.

Sili causam te docui. Is postea fuit apud me. Cum ei dicerem, tibi videri sponsionem illam nos

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[a] A mansion built at Velia by some member of the Gens Papiria now in the possession of Trebatius, and occupied, during his absence in Rome, by his guest Cicero.

[b] A show tree, visited by tourists.

[c] Cicero hopes to enjoy Trebatius's hospitality again.

[d] The Etesian gales had now begun. *Cf.* ii. 15. 5 and xii. 25. 3.

[e] One Turpilia had made a will in favour of Silius; but no woman could make a will without the *auctoritas* of her

the Velians have heard some disquieting rumour or other) and not turn your back on that noble river the Halethes, or abandon the mansion of Papirius.[a] By the bye, at that very house there is a lotus[b] which is often an attraction even to strangers, though if you cut it down it will give you an extensive view.

But it seems to me eminently desirable, especially 2
in these days, to have somewhere to flee to,—in the first place, a city where the inhabitants are devoted to you, and secondly, a house of your own and on your own estate, and that in some secluded, salubrious, and beautiful spot; and this I think, my dear Trebatius, concerns me too.[c] But you must keep well, and look after my affairs, and expect to see me, by the favour of Heaven, before midwinter.

I have walked off with a book from Sextus 3
Fadius, Nicon's pupil—*Nicon on Over-Eating*. What a delightful physician he, and what a docile pupil I under such tuition! But our friend Bassus kept that book a secret from me, though not, it appears, from you. The wind is rising.[d] Mind you keep well. Velia, July 20th.

XXI

CICERO TO THE SAME

Tusculum (?), June, 44 B.C.

I have explained Silius's case to you.[e] Well, since then he has called upon me. When I told him that

agnati (male blood-relations). Turpilia might have evaded that *auctoritas* by an elaborate legal process, but had not done so, and her will was, therefore, in the opinion of Servius and Ofilius, invalid.

sine periculo facere posse, *Si bonorum Turpiliae possessionem Q. Caepio praetor ex edicto suo mihi dederit*, negare aiebat Servium, tabulas testamenti esse eas, quas instituisset is, qui factionem testamenti non habuerit; hoc idem Ofilium dicere; tecum se locutum negabat, meque rogavit, ut se et causam suam tibi commendarem. Nec vir melior, mi Testa, nec mihi amicior P. Silio quisquam est, te tamen excepto. Gratissimum igitur mihi feceris, si ad eum ultro veneris eique pollicitus eris; sed, si me amas, quam primum. Hoc te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo.

XXII

CICERO TREBATIO S. D.

Anno incerto.

Illuseras heri inter scyphos, quod dixeram, controversiam esse, possetne heres, quod furtum antea factum esset, recte furti agere. Itaque, etsi domum bene potus seroque redieram, tamen id caput, ubi haec controversia est, notavi, et descriptum tibi misi; ut scires, id, quod tu neminem sensisse dicebas, Sex. Aelium, M'. Manilium, M. Brutum sensisse. Ego tamen Scaevolae et Testae assentior.

[a] A formal agreement made by Silius (who had been granted provisional possession of the estate) with the intestate heir, who was naturally disputing the will. Beginning as above, it ended with the words *dare mihi spondes?* "Do you pledge yourself to give me, by way of compensation, such and such a sum?" And the heir intestate answered *spondeo*; whence the term *sponsio* for such an agreement.

in your view we might safely make that stipulation[a] "If the Praetor, Q. Caepio, in accordance with his edict, has granted me the possession of Turpilia's estate, etc.," he said that Servius maintained that a will, made by one who had not the legal right to make a will, was no will at all, and that Ofilius concurred. Silius said he had not talked it over with you, and asked me to commend him and his case to you. There is no better man, my dear Testa, and I have no better friend than P. Silius, with the exception indeed of yourself. You will therefore greatly oblige me by going to him without an invitation and promising to do what he wants. But, as you love me, do so as soon as possible. This I earnestly beg of you to do, and I reiterate my request.

XXII

CICERO TO THE SAME

Tusculum (?), June, 44 B.C.

You made fun of me yesterday over our wine for saying it was a disputed point whether an heir could lawfully prosecute on a charge of theft committed before he succeeded to the property. So, although I had returned home comfortably mellow and at a late hour, I nevertheless marked the section in which this question is discussed, and I have sent you a correct copy of it, so as to convince you that the opinion held, according to you, by no one, was held by Sextus Aelius, Manius Manilius, and Marcus Brutus; all the same, I agree with Scaevola and Testa.

XXII

CICERO S. D. FADIO GALLO

Anno incerto.

1 Tantum quod ex Arpinati veneram, cum mihi a te litterae redditae sunt; ab eodemque accepi Aviani litteras, in quibus hoc inerat liberalissimum, nomina se facturum, cum venisset, qua ego vellem die. Fac, quaeso, qui ego sum, esse te. Estne aut tui pudoris, aut nostri, primum rogare de die, deinde plus annua postulare? Sed essent, mi Galle, omnia facilia, si et ea mercatus esses, quae ego desiderabam, et ad eam summam, quam volueram. Ac tamen ista ipsa, quae te emisse scribis, non solum rata mihi erunt, sed etiam grata; plane enim intellego, te non modo studio, sed etiam amore usum, quae te delectarint, hominem, ut ego semper iudicavi, in omni iudicio elegantissimum, quae me digna putaris,
2 coemisse. Sed velim maneat Damasippus in sententia. Prorsus enim ex istis emptionibus nullam desidero. Tu autem ignarus instituti mei, quanti ego genus omnino signorum omnium non aestimo, tanti ista quattuor aut quinque sumpsisti. Bacchas istas cum Musis Metelli comparas. Quid simile?

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[a] A highly esteemed friend of Cicero. He wrote a panegyric on Cato Uticensis. *Cf.* vii. 24. 2.

[b] From whom Gallus had bought some statues for Cicero.

[c] Interest would not be charged on the debt until it was so entered.

[d] Damasippus had offered to take the statues off Cicero's hands. Damasippus, a noted art-connoisseur of the day, is mentioned in Hor. *Sat.* ii. 3. 16.

[e] Quintus Caecilius Metellus Scipio, the father of Pompey's first wife, Mucia. He was a connoisseur in statuary. (*Att.* vi. 1. 17.)

XXIII

TO M. FADIUS GALLUS [a]

Rome, 61 (?) B.C.

I had only just arrived from Arpinum when a letter 1
from you was delivered to me; and by the same hand I received one from Avianius,[b] containing this very handsome offer, that when he came he would enter my debt to him on whatever day I pleased.[c] Pray put yourself in my place. Is it consistent with either your sense of honour or mine, first to haggle about the day, and then to ask for more than a year's credit? But everything would have been easy, my dear Gallus, had you bought only what I wanted, and that only up to the price I had in my mind. But for all that, the actual purchases mentioned in your letter I shall ratify, and they will gratify me too; for I quite understand that you showed not only your anxiety to please, but your affection also, in buying up, because you considered them worthy of me, things which gave pleasure to yourself, who, as I have always thought, show most refined taste wherever critical skill is needed.

Still I should like Damasippus[d] to stick to his 2
intention; for out of all your purchases there is absolutely not one that I should really prize. You, however, in ignorance of my regular practice, took over your four or five statues at a price beyond what I set on the whole collection of statues in the world. You compare your Bacchantes with Metellus's[e] Muses. Where is the analogy? In the first place,

primum ipsas ego Musas numquam tanti putassem, atque id fecissem Musis omnibus approbantibus. Sed tamen erat aptum bibliothecae studiisque nostris congruens. Bacchis vero ubi est apud me locus? At pulchellae sunt. Novi optime, et saepe vidi. Nominatim tibi signa mihi nota mandassem, si probassem. Ea enim signa ego emere soleo, quae ad similitudinem gymnasiorum exornent mihi in palaestra locum. Martis vero signum quo mihi pacis auctori? Gaudeo nullum Saturni signum fuisse. Haec enim duo signa putarem mihi aes alienum attulisse. Mercuri mallem aliquod fuisset; felicius, puto, cum Avianio transigere possemus.
3 Quod tibi destinaras τραπεζοφόρον, si te delectat, habebis; sin autem sententiam mutasti, ego habebo scilicet. Ista quidem summa ne ego multo libentius emerim deversorium Tarracinae, ne semper hospiti molestus sim. Omnino liberti mei video esse culpam, cui plane res certas mandaram; itemque Iuni, quem puto tibi notum esse, Aviani familiarem. Exhedria quaedam mihi nova sunt instituta in porticula Tusculani. Ea volebam tabellis ornare. Etenim, si quid generis istiusmodi me delectat, pictura delectat.

[a] This explains his "regular practice" (*supra*). He did buy statues not adapted for a "gymnasium," but by "gymnasium" he means a place where philosophers met their pupils, where he could have statues of great men.

[b] Mars and Saturn were inauspicious deities; Mercury was the God of Good Luck.

[c] A table-leg, which was sometimes a sculptured figure, as that of Chiron in Juvenal (iii. 305), "sub eodem marmore (the marble table) Chiron."

[d] Where Cicero would often spend a night on his journeys to his Cuman and Pompeian estates.

I should never have thought those Muses themselves worth all that money, and all the Muses would have agreed. Still it would have been suitable for a library, and would harmonize with my literary pursuits. But as for Bacchantes, where is there room for them at my house? Ah but, you will say, they are beautiful little figures. I know them perfectly well, and have often seen them. Had I fancied them, I should have specifically commissioned you to buy statues that were known to me. For I often buy the sort of figures that would adorn a place in my palaestra, and make it look like the gymnasia.[a] But a statue of Mars! What do I, the advocate of peace, want with that? I am glad there was not one of Saturn, for I should suspect these two statues of having brought debt upon me.[b] I should rather there had been some sort of a statue of Mercury. I might have had better luck perhaps in my transaction with Avianius.

As for the table-support[c] you had intended for 3
yourself, if you like it, you must keep it; if however you have changed your mind, you may be sure that I shall keep it. For the sum you have expended, I declare I would much rather have bought a lodging-house at Tarracina,[d] so as not to be an everlasting burden upon my host. On the whole I take it that the fault lies with my freedman, whom I had definitely commissioned to make certain purchases, and also with Junius, whom I think you know, Avianius's friend.

I have built some new reading-rooms in a little colonnade at my Tusculan villa, and I should like to decorate them with pictures; as a matter of fact, if anything of that sort gives me any pleasure at all, it is painting.

Sed tamen, si ista mihi sunt habenda, certiorem velim me facias, ubi sint, quando arcessantur, quo genere vecturae. Si enim Damasippus in sententia non manebit, aliquem pseudodamasippum vel cum
4 iactura reperiemus. Quod ad me de domo scribis iterum, iam id ego proficiscens mandaram meae Tulliae. Ea enim ipsa hora acceperam tuas litteras. Egeram etiam cum tuo Nicia, quod is utitur, ut scis, familiariter Cassio. Ut redii autem, prius, quam tuas legi has proximas litteras, quaesivi de mea Tullia, quid egisset. Per Liciniam se egisse dicebat; sed opinor Cassium uti non ita multum sorore. Eam porro negare se audere, cum vir abesset (est enim profectus in Hispaniam Dexius), illo et absente et insciente migrare. Est mihi gratissimum, tanti a te aestimatam consuetudinem vitae victusque nostri, primum, ut eam domum sumeres, ut non modo prope me, sed plane mecum habitare posses; deinde ut migrare tanto opere festinares. Sed ne vivam, si tibi concedo, ut eius rei tu cupidior sis, quam ego sum. Itaque omnia experiar. Video enim, quid mea intersit, quid utriusque nostrum. Si quid egero, faciam ut scias. Tu et ad omnia rescribes et, quando te exspectem, facies me, si tibi videtur, certiorem.

[a] From whom Gallus had bought a house, now occupied by Cassius's sister Licinia and her husband Dexius. Licinia, being on bad terms with her brother, was in no hurry to suit his or Gallus's convenience as regards the house.

Anyhow, if I am to take over your purchases, I wish you would notify me where they are, when they are to be sent for, and in what kind of conveyance; for if Damasippus has not the courage of his opinions, I have got to find some *soi-disant* Damasippus, even if I lose by it.

As to what you repeat in your letter about the 4
house, I had already, just as I was leaving home, put the matter in the hands of my daughter Tullia; for that was the very hour I received your letter. I had also conferred with your friend Nicias, since he is intimate, as you know, with Cassius.[a] On my return, however, before I had read this last letter of yours, I asked Tullia what she had done. She told me she had dealt with the matter through Licinia (though I fancy Cassius does not see so very much of his sister), who in her turn declared that in her husband's absence (for Dexius had left for Spain) she had not the courage to change her house, he not only being absent, but knowing nothing about it.

I am very much pleased that you should have valued your close association with me in my life and mode of living so highly as, in the first place, to choose a house where you could dwell, not only near, but absolutely with me; and secondly, to be in such a mighty hurry to make the move. But I had sooner die than admit that you are any more eager to see the thing through than I am myself; so I shall leave no stone unturned; for I see how important it is to me, and indeed to both of us. If I have any success, I shall make a point of letting you know. You will, I am sure, reply by letter on every detail, and will tell me, if you please, when I am to expect you.

XXIV

CICERO S. D. M. FADIO GALLO

In Tusculano, A.U.C. 709.

1 Amoris quidem tui, quoquo me verti, vestigia, vel proxime de Tigellio. Sensi enim ex litteris tuis valde te laborasse. Amo igitur voluntatem. Sed pauca de re. Cipius (opinor) olim, *non omnibus dormio*; sic ego non omnibus, mi Galle, servio. Etsi quae est haec servitus? Olim, cum regnare existimabamur, non tam ab ullis, quam hoc tempore observor a familiarissimis Caesaris omnibus praeter istum. Id ego in lucris pono, non ferre hominem pestilentiorem patria sua; eumque addictum iam tum puto esse Calvi Licini Hipponacteo praeconio.

2 At vide, quid succenseat. Phameae causam receperam, ipsius quidem causa. Erat enim mihi sane familiaris. Is ad me venit dixitque iudicem sibi operam dare constituisse eo ipso die, quo de P.

[a] M. Fadius Gallus was afraid that Cicero might alienate Tigellius, the Sardinian musician, who had much influence with Caesar. See Hor. *Sat.* i. 3, for an amusing description of him.

[b] Cipius, it seems, used to feign sleep, so as not to appear to notice the indiscretions of his wife with influential guests, but when a slave, presuming upon this habit of his master, tried to steal some wine, he suddenly broke in with the above words.

[c] *Cf. Ad Att.* i. 16. 10, where Clodius is described as asking "Quousque hunc regem feremus?" "How long are we going to let this fellow king it over us?"

[d] Sardinia was notoriously unhealthy.

[e] Hipponax of Ephesus (546–520 B.C.) wrote bitter lampoons in the scazontic ("limping") or choliambic ("lame iambic") metre, so called because it was the iambic trimeter with a spondee, instead of an iambic foot, at the end. Licinius's scazon was *Sardi Tigelli putidum caput venit*, happily rendered by Tyrrell "For sale Tigellius, the Sardinian oaf."

XXIV

CICERO TO THE SAME [a]

Tusculum, August 20, 45 B.C.

Traces of your devotion to me at every turn! 1
Take the latest instance of all—the affair of Tigellius; for your letter made me feel that you had taken infinite pains about it; and I am accordingly grateful for your kind thought for me. But a word or two on that matter. It was Cipius,[b] I believe, who once said *I am not asleep to everybody*, so I, my dear Gallus, am not a slave to everybody. And what, after all, does that slavery amount to? In the old days, when I was supposed to be playing the king,[c] I had no such deference paid me by any people as is paid me at the present moment by all the most intimate friends of Caesar, with the exception of this person. I reckon it as so much profit to be rid of a fellow who is even more pestilent than the country he comes from[d]; and I fancy he was effectually disposed of already as a job lot by the Hipponactean advertisement of Calvus Licinius, auctioneer.[e]

But observe the reason of his indignation. I had 2
undertaken Phamea's defence, because he was Phamea; for he was on very familiar terms with me. Well, he came to me and said that the judge had arranged to take his case on the very day on which the jury had to consider their verdict in the case of P.

Sestio in consilium iri necesse erat. Respondi, nullo modo me facere posse; quem vellet alium si diem sumpsisset, me ei non defuturum. Ille autem, qui sciret se nepotem bellum tibicinem habere et sat bonum cantorem[1], discessit a me, ut mihi videbatur, iratior. Habes Sardos venales, alium alio nequiorem. Cognosti meam causam et istius Salaconis iniquitatem. Catonem tuum mihi mitte. Cupio enim legere. Me adhuc non legisse, turpe utrique nostrum est.

XXV

CICERO S. D. M. FADIO GALLO

In Tusculano, A.U.C. 709.

1 Quod epistulam conscissam doles, noli laborare. Salva est domi; petes, cum libebit. Quod autem me mones, valde gratum est; idque ut semper facias, rogo. Videris enim mihi vereri, ne, nisi istum habuerimus, rideamus γέλωτα σαρδόνιον. Sed heus tu, manum de tabula; magister adest citius, quam
2 putaramus. Vereor, ne in Catonium[2] Catoninos. Mi Galle, cave putes quidquam melius, quam epistulae

[1] *Manutius*: unctorem *codd.*
[2] *Salmasius*: Catomum *MSS.*

[a] Accused of bribery and corruption.
[b] *i.e.*, Tigellius.
[c] Gallus, as well as Cicero and Brutus, wrote a panegyric of Cato; Caesar and Hirtius both wrote *Anti-Catos*.
[d] Probably the preceding letter, in which Tigellius was severely criticized.
[e] No doubt a copy of it.
[f] Tigellius, "who, if hostile to us, may make us laugh a bitter laugh" with an allusion, both to the bitter Sardinian herbs (*cf.* Verg. *Ecl.* vii. 41), and to Tigellius's Sardinian birth.

Sestius.[a] I replied that I could not possibly attend, but that if he selected any other day he pleased, I should not fail him. But conscious of the fact that he had a grandson[b] who was quite a nice flautist, and not a bad singer, he left me, as it seemed to me, in high dudgeon. There you are, a pair of Sardinians for sale, one worse than the other. You now know all about my case, and the unreasonable behaviour of that coxcomb. Send me your *Cato*[c]; I want to read it. That I have not yet done so is no credit to either of us.

XXV

CICERO TO THE SAME

Tusculum, August, 45 B.C.

You are sorry the letter[d] has been torn up; well, 1
don't fret yourself; I have it[e] safe at home; you may come and fetch it whenever you like. That you should warn me at all, however, gives me great pleasure; and I beg you will never cease to do so. You are evidently afraid that unless we have him[f] with us, we may have to laugh "on the wrong side of our mouths." But listen! Hands off your tablet![g] The Dominie is here sooner than we expected. I fear he will make Catachthonians of us Catonians.[h]

You must never imagine, my dear Gallus, that 2
anything can beat that part of your letter begin-

[g] As we should say to a schoolboy, "Stop scribbling on your slate." It may also mean "stop writing about Cato." See note *c* on *Ep.* 24 above. The Dominie is Caesar, just returned from Spain.
[h] Or "send whoever sticks to Cato to the Styx."

tuae partem ab eo loco, *cetera labuntur*. Secreto hoc audi; tecum habeto; ne Apellae quidem, liberto tuo, dixeris. Praeter duo nos loquitur isto modo nemo; bene malene, videro; sed quidquid est, nostrum est. Urge igitur, nec transversum unguem (quod aiunt) a stilo. Is enim est dicendi opifex. Atque equidem aliquantum iam etiam noctis assumo.

XXVI

CICERO S. D. GALLO

In Tusculano, A.U.C. 697.

1 Cum decimum iam diem graviter ex intestinis laborarem, neque iis, qui mea opera uti volebant, me probarem non valere, quia febrim non haberem, fugi in Tusculanum, cum quidem biduum ita ieiunus fuissem, ut ne aquam quidem gustarem. Itaque confectus languore et fame, magis tuum officium desideravi quam abs te requiri putavi meum. Ego autem cum omnes morbos reformido, tum, in quo Epicurum tuum Stoici male accipiunt, quia dicat, δυσουρικὰ καὶ δυσεντερικὰ πάθη sibi molesta esse, quorum alterum morbum edacitatis esse putant, alterum etiam turpioris intemperantiae. Sane δυσεντερίαν pertimueram. Sed visa est mihi vel loci mutatio, vel animi etiam relaxatio, vel ipsa fortasse

[a] *i.e.*, "except literature, to which I mean to devote myself." This is mere conjecture, but fits the context.

ning with the passage "all else passes away."[a] This for own ear; keep it to yourself; don't tell even your freedman Apella. Except us two nobody talks in that way; whether it is the right or the wrong way, that I shall see later; but whatever it is, it is peculiar to ourselves. Press on then, and do not let the breadth of a finger-nail (as they say) part you from your pen; for the pen is the manufacturer of eloquence. And, as for me, I now encroach upon a good deal even of the night for the purpose.

XXVI

CICERO TO THE SAME

Tusculanum, 57 (?) B.C.

I had been suffering seriously for quite ten days 1
from a gastric attack, and being unable to satisfy those who wished to avail themselves of my services that I was an invalid, because I had no fever, I fled to my Tusculan villa, having fasted for two days so strictly, I assure you, as not even to take a sip of water. And so, exhausted as I was with weakness and hunger, I missed your kind attention more keenly than I thought you felt the loss of mine. Now I have a shrinking horror of all diseases, especially of that in regard to which the Stoics put a sinister interpretation upon your great Epicurus's admission that he was troubled with strangury and gastritis; for they attributed the latter to gluttony, and the former to a still baser kind of self-indulgence. I had certainly been in great dread of dysentery; but the change of residence, or simply the easing of my anxiety, or perhaps the abatement of the malady in

2 iam senescentis morbi remissio profuisse. Attamen, ne mirere, unde hoc acciderit, quomodove commiserim, lex sumptuaria, quae videtur λιτότητα attulisse, ea mihi fraudi fuit. Nam dum volunt isti lauti terra nata, quae lege excepta sunt, in honorem adducere, fungos, heluellas, herbas omnes ita condiunt, ut nihil possit esse suavius. In eas cum incidissem in caena augurali apud Lentulum, tanta me διάρροια arripuit, ut hodie primum videatur coepisse consistere. Ita ego, qui me ostreis et muraenis facile abstinebam, a beta et a malva deceptus sum. Posthac igitur erimus cautiores. Tu tamen cum audisses ab Anicio (vidit enim me nauseantem), non modo mittendi causam iustam habuisti, sed etiam visendi. Ego hic cogito commorari, quoad me reficiam. Nam et vires et corpus amisi. Sed, si morbum depulero, facile, ut spero, illa revocabo.

XXVII

CICERO S. D. T. FADIO GALLO

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Miror, cur me accuses, cum tibi id facere non liceat. Quod si liceret, tamen non debebas. *Ego*

[a] If the date of this Letter is correct, this sumptuary law can be no other than the Lex Aemilia of 115 B.C.

[b] Son and namesake of P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, who was consul in 57 B.C., and promoted the restoration of Cicero. This younger Lentulus was augur in the same year (57), and that is the only clue we have to the date of this letter.

[c] The preposition, as Reid observes, indicates a personification of the vegetables.

[d] Titus (not to be confounded with Marcus) Fadius Gallus had been condemned on some unknown charge in 52, and was living in exile. See v. 18.

itself as it wore itself out—whatever it was, it seems to have done me good.

But anyhow, in case you should wonder what caused this attack, or how I brought it upon myself, it was that sumptuary law,[a] which is supposed to have inaugurated "plain living,"—it was that, I say, which proved my undoing. For your gourmets, in their anxiety to bring into favour the fruits of the earth, which are exempted under that law, season their mushrooms, pot-herbs, and greens of every kind with a skill that makes them irresistibly delicious. I was let in for that sort of food at an augural banquet at Lentulus's[b] house, with the result that I was seized with an attack of diarrhoea so persistent that not until to-day has it shown any signs of stopping. So I, who had no difficulty in abstaining from oysters and lampreys, was imposed upon by Messrs Beet and Mallow.[c] So for the future I shall take better care of myself. As for you however, considering that Anicius had told you all about it—in fact he saw me in the act of being sick—it would have been only reasonable had you not only sent to inquire for me, but even come to see me. I intend staying on here until I am restored to health, for I have lost both strength and weight. But once I have beaten off this attack, I shall easily, I hope, recover both. 2

XXVII

CICERO TO TITUS FADIUS GALLUS[d]

Rome, 46 B.C.

I wonder why you find fault with me, when you have no right to do so; and even if you had the right, you had no business to do so. "I showed my 1

enim te in consulatu observaram. Et ais, fore, ut te Caesar restituat. Multa tu quidem dicis, sed tibi nemo credit. Tribunatum plebei dicis te mea causa petisse. Utinam semper esses tribunus! intercessorem non quaereres. Negas me audere, quod sentiam, dicere. Quasi tibi, cum impudenter me
2 rogares, parum fortiter responderim. Haec tibi scripsi, ut isto ipso in genere, in quo aliquid posse vis, te nihil esse cognosceres. Quod si humaniter mecum questus esses, libenter tibi me et facile purgassem; non enim ingrata mihi sunt, quae fecisti; sed, quae scripsisti, molesta. Me autem, propter quem ceteri liberi sunt, tibi liberum non visum demiror. Nam si falsa fuerunt, quae tu ad me, ut ais, detulisti, quid tibi ego debeo? si vera, tu es optimus testis, quid mihi populus Romanus debeat.

XXVIII

M. CICERO S. D. CURIO

A.U.C. 708.

1 Memini, cum mihi desipere videbare, quod cum istis potius viveres, quam nobiscum; erat enim multo domicilium huius urbis (cum quidem haec

[a] A quotation from Gallus's letter to Cicero.

[b] A punning reference to the tribunes' *ius intercedendi.* Gallus appears to have asked Cicero to intercede for him with Caesar.

[c] Tyrrell; or, possibly, "may not act as I choose with regard to you."

[d] In connexion with the Catilinarian conspiracy, when Gallus must have supplied Cicero with some important information.

regard for you when you were consul,"[a] and you add that Caesar is sure to recall you. You certainly have a great deal to say, but nobody believes you. You state that it was in my interests that you stood for the tribuneship. I only wish you were a permanent tribune; then you would not have to look about for somebody to intercede for you.[b] You assert that I dare not say what I think, as though I showed a lack of spirit in my reply to the audacious request you made of me!

I have written thus to convince you that even in 2
that style you affect when you aspire to be particularly impressive you do not shine. But had you expostulated with me in terms of ordinary courtesy, I should have willingly, and quite easily, cleared myself in your eyes; for I am not ungrateful for what you have done, but annoyed at what you have written. Now I am really surprised that I, to whom all others owe their liberty, am in your eyes no better than a slave.[c] If what you reported to me,[d] as you say you did, was not true, what do I owe you? If true, you are the best witness of what the Roman people owe me.

XXVIII

CICERO TO MANIUS CURIUS[e]

Rome, August (?), 46 B.C.

I remember when I thought it foolish of you to live 1
with your people over there rather than with us; for a habitation in this city, when this *was* a city, was

[e] A banker or factor at Patrae, one of the twelve towns of Achaia, near Rhium, at the entrance to the Gulf of Corinth.

urbs) aptius humanitati et suavitati tuae, quam tota Peloponnesus, nedum Patrae. Nunc contra et vidisse mihi multum videris, cum prope desperatis his rebus te in Graeciam contulisti, et hoc tempore non solum sapiens, qui hinc absis, sed etiam beatus. Quamquam quis, qui aliquid sapiat, nunc esse beatus
2 potest? Sed, quod tu, cui licebat, pedibus es consecutus, ut ibi esses,

ubi nec Pelopidarum,—

(nosti cetera) nos idem propemodum consequimur alia ratione. Cum enim salutationi nos dedimus amicorum, quae fit hoc etiam frequentius, quam solebat, quod quasi avem albam videntur bene sentientem civem videre, abdo me in bibliothecam. Itaque opera efficio tanta, quanta fortasse tu senties. Intellexi enim ex tuo sermone quodam, cum meam maestitiam et desperationem accusares domi tuae,
3 te ex meis libris animum meum desiderare. Sed mehercule et tum rempublicam lugebam, quae non solum suis erga me, sed etiam meis erga se beneficiis erat mihi vita carior, et hoc tempore, quamquam me non ratio solum consolatur, quae plurimum debet valere, sed etiam dies, quae stultis quoque mederi solet, tamen doleo, ita rem communem esse dilapsam ut ne spes quidem, melius aliquando fore, relinquatur. Nec vero nunc quidem culpa in eo est, in cuius

[a] "Nothing is heard" has to be supplied. The Pelopidae (here Caesar and his satellites) were notorious as evil-doers in Greek tragedy. The full line is quoted in vii. 30. 1.

[b] Something strange and rare, like Juvenal's "black swan."

better suited to your refined and amiable nature than any spot in the whole Peloponnese, certainly than Patrae. Now, on the contrary, it seems to me that you showed great foresight when in the desperate state of affairs here you betook yourself to Greece, and that at the present time you are not only wise in absenting yourself from Rome, but happy too. And yet what man of any sense can be happy now?

But as to the relief which you, who were free to do 2
so, obtained by tramping off so as to find some place *where of the sons of Pelops*[a] (you know the rest), I too nearly manage to secure the same, though in a different way. For after devoting myself to the reception of my friends, a function more numerously attended than heretofore, because to them the sight of a fellow-citizen of sound sentiments is just as if they saw a white raven,[b] I hide myself away in my library. The result is that I finish off works of such importance as even *you* perhaps will appreciate; for I gathered from a certain conversation I had with you, when you were upbraiding me at your house for my depression and despair, that you were sorry to miss my old spirit in my books.

Well, I must confess that at that time I was 3
mourning the loss of the Republic, which, owing to her services to me as well as mine to her, was dearer to me than life itself; and at the present time, although I am comforted not only by rational reflexion, which ought to have more influence than anything, but also by lapse of time, which often cures even fools of their folly, for all that I grieve that the commonwealth has so fallen to pieces as not to leave behind it even the hope of better things to come. And yet just now it is not the fault of him whose

potestate omnia sunt (nisi forte id ipsum esse non debuit), sed alia casu, alia etiam nostra culpa sic acciderunt, ut de praeteritis non sit querendum. Reliquam spem nullam video. Quare ad prima redeo. Sapienter haec reliquisti, si consilio; feliciter, si casu.

XXIX

CURIUS M. CICERONI SUO S.

Patris, A.U.C. 709.

1 S.v.b.e.; sum enim χρήσει μὲν tuus, κτήσει δὲ Attici nostri. Ergo fructus est tuus, mancipium illius; quod quidem si inter senes coemptionales venale proscripserit, egerit non multum. At illa nostra praedicatio quanti est, nos, quod simus, quod habeamus, quod homines existimemur, id omne abs te habere! Quare, Cicero mi, persevera constanter nos conservare et Sulpici successori nos de meliore nota commenda, quo facilius tuis praeceptis obtemperare possimus, teque ad ver libentes videre et nostra refigere deportareque tuto possimus.
2 Sed, amice magne, noli hanc epistulam Attico ostendere; sine eum errare et putare me virum bonum esse, nec solere duo parietes de eadem fidelia

[a] These are the Latin equivalents of the Greek terms, the former being temporary tenure or leasehold of a property, involving the enjoyment of the produce (*usus fructus*), the latter absolute possession in fee-simple. *Cf.* Lucretius's famous line *vitaque mancipio nulli datur, omnibus usu.*

[b] Put up for sale not separately, but in a lot; hence *coemptionales.*

[c] Manius Acilius Glabrio, who in 48 succeeded Sulpicius as governor of Achaia, where Curius is now staying.

autocracy is absolute (except perhaps that it ought never to have been so), but certain things have occurred, some of them by chance and others through our own fault, which make it unreasonable to complain of what is past. There is no hope left that I can see. I therefore go back to what I said at first. If you left all this behind you on purpose, you are wise; if you just happened to do so, you are lucky.

XXIX

M'. CURIUS TO CICERO

Patrae, October 29, 45 B.C.

If you are well, I am content; for by *usus*[a] I belong to you, but by *mancipium*[a] to our friend Atticus. Therefore while the usufruct of me is yours, the absolute ownership of me is his; but if he advertises me for sale in a job lot of decrepit slaves,[b] he won't make much by it. Ah, but how it adds to my value to be able to publish the fact that all I am, all I have, even my recognition as a man among men —I owe all to you. And for that reason, Cicero mine, never cease to persevere in safeguarding my interests, and give me a testimonial of a special brand for Sulpicius's successor,[c] so that I may the more easily obey your orders, and so be able to see you (how delightful!) in early spring, and pack up my belongings and bring them safe to Rome. 1

But, my famous friend, you must not show this letter to Atticus; no, let him remain in his delusion, and imagine me to be an honourable man, and not in the habit of " whitewashing two walls out of the 2

dealbare. Ergo, patrone mi, bene vale, Tironemque meum saluta nostris verbis.

XXX

CICERO S. D. CURIO

Romae, A.U.C. 710.

1 Ego vero iam te nec hortor nec rogo, ut domum redeas; quin hinc ipse evolare cupio et aliquo pervenire,

> ubi nec Pelopidarum nomen nec facta audiam.

Incredibile est, quam turpiter mihi facere videar, qui his rebus intersim. Ne tu videris multo ante providisse, quid impenderet tum, cum hinc profugisti. Quamquam haec etiam auditu acerba sunt, tamen audire tolerabilius est quam videre. In campo certe non fuisti, cum hora secunda comitiis quaestoriis institutis, sella Q. Maximi, quem illi consulem esse dicebant, posita esset; quo mortuo nuntiato, sella sublata est. Ille autem, qui comitiis tributis esset auspicatus, centuriata habuit; consulem hora septima renuntiavit, qui usque ad Kalendas Ian. esset; quae erant futurae mane

[a] *i.e.*, "seeking the favour of two patrons at the same time;" "serving two masters."

[b] Probably from the *Pelops* of Accius.

[c] The *Comitia Tributa* at which the lesser magistrates, quaestors and tribunes, were elected, whereas consuls and praetors were elected at the *Comitia Centuriata*.

[d] About 8 A.M.

[e] Q. Fabius Maximus was elected consul with C. Trebonius by Caesar, on his return from Spain, for the last three months of 45. For the preceding nine months Caesar had been consul without a colleague.

same pail."[a] Well then, patron mine, a hearty farewell to you, and mind you salute my dear Tiro in my name.

XXX

CICERO TO M'. CURIUS

Rome, January, 44 B.C.

Well, no longer do I either urge or ask you to return home! Why, I myself long to fly away from here, and get to some place 1

> Where neither name nor deed may reach my ear
> Of any son of Pelops.[b]

You can't imagine how disgracefully I feel I am behaving in taking part in these affairs. You indeed seem to have foreseen long beforehand what was impending, when you fled from Rome. And yet, painful as things are to hear of, hearing of them is easier to bear than seeing them. At all events you were not in the Campus Martius when, after the opening of the Comitia for the election of quaestors,[c] at the second hour,[d] the chair of Q. Maximus,[e] whom Caesar's party declared to be consul, was duly set; and then, on the announcement of his death, that same chair was put away. But the great man,[f] having taken the auspices for the Comitia Tributa, also held the Comitia Centuriata; and at the seventh hour[g] he announced the election of a consul[h] to hold office till January 1st, which would be the next

[f] Caesar is frequently referred to as *ille*.

[g] Between 12 and 1 when the luncheon hour (the *prandium* was a mid-day meal) would have passed.

[h] C. Caninius Rebilus, Caesar's legate in Gaul, Africa, and Spain.

postridie. Ita, Caninio consule, scito neminem prandisse. Nihil tamen eo consule mali factum est. Fuit enim mirifica vigilantia, qui suo toto consulatu
2 somnum non viderit. Haec tibi ridicula videntur Non enim ades; quae si videres, lacrimas non teneres. Quid, si cetera scribam? Sunt enim innumerabilia generis eiusdem; quae quidem ego non ferrem, nisi me in philosophiae portum contulissem et nisi haberem socium studiorum meorum Atticum nostrum; cuius quando proprium te esse scribis mancipio et nexu, meum autem usu et fructu, contentus isto sum. Id enim est cuiusque proprium, quo quisque fruitur atque utitur. Sed haec alias
3 pluribus. Acilius, qui in Graeciam cum legionibus missus est, maximo meo beneficio est; bis enim est a me iudicio capitis, rebus salvis, defensus, et est homo non ingratus meque vehementer observat. Ad eum de te diligentissime scripsi, eamque epistulam cum hac coniunxi; quam ille quomodo acceperit et quid tibi pollicitus sit, velim ad me scribas.

XXXI

CICERO S. D. CURIO

Romae, A.U.C. 710.

1 Facile perspexi ex tuis litteris, quod semper studui, et me a te plurimi fieri et te intellegere, quam

[a] See note *c* on vii. 29. 1. It is to him that Cicero's letter commending M'. Curius (xiii. 50) is addressed.

morning. So I would have you know that in the consulship of Caninius, *nobody lunched*. Still nothing untoward occurred while he was consul; for so wonderfully wide awake was he, that during the whole of his consulship he saw no sleep.

All very funny, you think; yes, because you are not 2
here; if you were an eyewitness, you could not keep back your tears. What if I tell you all the rest? For there are countless cases of the same sort, and it would be more than I could bear, had I not taken refuge in the haven of philosophy and found in my dear Atticus a partner in my literary labours. When you write that you belong to him by right of ownership and legal bond, but to me in usufruct, I am quite satisfied with that arrangement; for it is just that of which he has the enjoyment and profit, which constitutes a man's property. But of this more fully some other time.

Acilius,[a] who has been sent to Greece with the 3
legions, is under the greatest obligation to me; for I have twice successfully defended him on a charge involving his civic status; and it is not his nature to be ungrateful, and he shows me marked deference. I have written to him very particularly about you, and have attached that letter to this. Please write and tell me how he has taken it, and what he has promised to do for you.

XXXI

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, February, 44 B.C.

Your letter has left me in no doubt as to two things 1
I have always had at heart—that I am highly esteemed by you and that you quite understand

mihi carus esses. Quod quoniam uterque nostrum consecutus est, reliquum est, ut officiis certemus inter nos; quibus aequo animo vel vincam te vel vincar abs te. Acilio non fuisse necesse meas dari
2 litteras, facile patior. Sulpici tibi opera intellego ex tuis litteris non multum opus fuisse propter tuas res ita contractas, ut, quemadmodum scribis, nec caput nec pedes. Equidem vellem, uti pedes haberent, ut aliquando redires. Vides enim exaruisse iam veterem urbanitatem; ut Pomponius noster suo iure possit dicere,

> nisi nos pauci retineamus gloriam antiquam Atticam.

Ergo is tibi, nos ei succedimus. Veni igitur, quaeso, ne tamen semen urbanitatis una cum republica intereat.

XXXII

M. CICERO S. D. VOLUMNIO

In Cilicia, A.U.C. 703.

1 Quod sine praenomine familiariter, ut debebas, ad me epistolam misisti, primum addubitavi, num a Volumnio senatore esset, quocum mihi est magnus usus; deinde εὐτραπελία litterarum fecit, ut intelle-

[a] See note on vii. 29. 1.

[b] Or, "you could make neither head nor tail of them." There may also be a play on *caput*=capital. *Contractas*, by a *double entente*, implies "diminished."

[c] Atticus.

[d] The "Attic glory" is *urbanitas*, which in those troubled times had disappeared from public life.

[e] A wealthy Roman knight, *praefectus fabrum* to Antony.

[f] *i.e.*, Publius, Eutrapelus being his cognomen, on which Cicero plays in talking of εὐτραπελία ("graceful badinage") below. St. Paul warns the Ephesians (v. 4) against εὐτραπελία,

how dear you are to me. And since we have both got so far, it only remains for us to have a competition in mutual good services; and I shall not mind in the least whether I beat you at that game, or you beat me. I am by no means sorry that it was not found necessary to hand my letter to Acilius.[a]

I gather from your letter that you had no great 2
need of the services of Sulpicius, because your resources were so "contracted" by your contracts, that to quote your words "they had neither head nor feet."[b] I could have wished myself that they "had kept their feet," so that you might return some day or other. For you observe that the old flow of wit and humour has quite dried up, which fully justifies our friend Pomponius[c] in saying

> Were't not that we, we few, conserve the ancient Attic glory.[d]

So he takes your place, and I his. Come then, I implore you, lest in spite of our efforts, the very seed of wit and humour perish with the Republic.

XXXII

TO P. VOLUMNIUS EUTRAPELUS[e]

Cilicia, 51 (?) B.C.

When you sent me a letter in a familiar style, and 1
quite rightly too, without giving your *praenomen*[f] I was inclined to doubt at first whether it was not from Volumnius the senator, with whom I am in constant touch; but as I read on, the graceful *badinage* of the letter convinced me that it was from

which is there translated "jesting." Aristotle defines it as πεπαιδευμένη ὕβρις, "educated insolence."

gerem tuas esse. Quibus in litteris omnia mihi periucunda fuerunt praeter illud, quod parum diligenter possessio salinarum mearum a te procuratore defenditur. Ais enim, ut ego discesserim, omnia omnium dicta, in his etiam Sestiana, in me conferri. Quid? tu id pateris? non defendis? non resistis? Equidem sperabam ita notata me reliquisse genera dictorum meorum, ut cognosci sua
2 sponte possent. Sed quando tanta faex est in Urbe, ut nihil tam sit ἀκύθηρον, quod non alicui venustum esse videatur, pugna, si me amas, nisi acuta ἀμφιβολία, nisi elegans ὑπερβολή, nisi παράγραμμα bellum, nisi ridiculum παρὰ προσδοκίαν, nisi cetera, quae sunt a me in secundo libro *de Oratore* per Antoni personam disputata de ridiculis, ἔντεχνα et arguta apparebunt, ut sacramento contendas, mea non esse. Nam de iudiciis quod quereris, multo laboro minus. Trahantur per me pedibus omnes rei; sit vel Selius tam eloquens, ut possit probare se liberum; non laboro. Urbanitatis possessionem, amabo, quibusvis interdictis defendamus; in qua te unum metuo, contemno ceteros. Derideri te putas? Nunc demum intellego
3 te sapere. Sed, mehercules, extra iocum, valde mihi tuae litterae facetae elegantesque visae sunt.

[a] Where he kept his witticisms (*sales*).
[b] P. Sestius, whom Cicero defended; he was a highly respectable man, but dull and heavy.
[c] If *per Antoni personam* be not an interpolation, Cicero is guilty of a lapse of memory, the dissertation on jokes referred to being by C. Julius Caesar Strabo Vopiscus.
[d] *i.e.*, "about my neglect of them."
[e] Some venal orator or other.
[f] Certain undignified expressions of Cicero's friend, the tribune Curio.

you. Everything in it gave me the greatest pleasure, except the fact that as my representative you are not strenuous enough in your defence of my rights as the proprietor of my own salt-pits.[a] For you tell me that since I left Rome, all the *bons mots* of all the wits, including even those of Sestius,[b] are attributed to me. What? Do you permit such a thing? Don't you defend me? Don't you protest? I really did hope that I had left my own *bons mots* so distinctly characterized that they could be recognized of themselves.

But now that the City is such a hot-bed of vulgarity 2
that nothing is so *banal* as not to seem charming to someone, unless you see at once that a *double entente* is clever, an hyperbole in good taste, a pun smart, an unexpected conclusion comical, and all the other forms of wit (which I have discussed in the second book of the *De oratore* in the character of Antonius[c] on the subject of jokes), are *en règle* and finely polished, well then, as you love me, show your mettle, so far as to asseverate on oath that they are none of mine. For as to your grumblings about the law-courts,[d] I am much less troubled; every defendant in the world may be dragged by the heels for all I care; even Selius[e] may be eloquent enough to be able to prove himself a free man; it does not trouble me. My proprietary rights in wit and humour, my dear man—those are what we have to defend by any prohibitions you please; for in that department I fear no man but you; as for the others, I despise them. You think I am making fun of you? Ah, now indeed I see you are no fool.

But upon my word, joking apart, I thought your 3
letter extremely witty, and nicely worded. What you quote,[f] however funny it was, and it was funny,

Illa, quamvis ridicula essent, sicut erant, mihi tamen risum non moverunt. Cupio enim nostrum illum amicum in tribunatu quam plurimum habere gravitatis; idque cum ipsius causa (est mihi, ut scis, in amoribus), tum mehercule etiam reipublicae. Quam quidem, quamvis in me ingrata sit, amare non desinam. Tu, mi Volumni, quando instituisti, et mihi vides esse gratum, scribe ad me quam saepissime de rebus urbanis, de republica. Iucundus est mihi sermo litterarum tuarum. Praeterea Dolabellam, quem ego perspicio et iudico cupidissimum esse atque amantissimum mei, cohortare et confirma et redde plane meum. Non mehercule quo quidquam desit; sed quia valde cupio, non videor nimium laborare.

XXXIII

M. CICERO S. D. VOLUMNIO

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Quod declamationibus nostris cares, damni nihil facis. Quod Hirtio invideres, nisi eum amares, non erat causa invidendi, nisi forte ipsius eloquentiae magis, quam, quod me audiret, invideres. Nos enim plane, mi suavissime Volumni, aut nihil sumus, aut nobis quidem ipsis displicemus, gregalibus illis, quibus te plaudente vigebamus, amissis; ut etiam,

[a] Cicero and his friends were *declaiming* (Cicero acting as their *magister*), indulging in rhetorical exercises on *unrealities*, and that is the point of the quotation from Accius.

got no laugh out of me. For I am anxious that our eminent friend should show as little levity as possible in his capacity as tribune, as much for his own sake—you know he is one of my favourites—as for the sake (I mean what I say) of the Republic—that Republic which, however ungrateful to myself, I shall never cease to love.

And you, my dear Volumnius, now that you have begun doing so, and see what pleasure it gives me, do write to me as often as you can about affairs in the City and the political situation. The chatty style of your letters is a joy to me.

Then again there is Dolabella, a man I perceive and believe to be most eager to win me, and devotedly attached to me; pray urge him on and encourage him in that desire, and make him absolutely mine. Not, I assure you, that he fails me in any respect, but seeing that I want him so much, I think my anxiety may be justified.

XXXIII

CICERO TO THE SAME

Tusculum (?), July, 46 B.C.

You lose nothing by missing my demonstrations in rhetoric.[a] As to your saying you would envy Hirtius if you were not so fond of him, there was no reason for envy at all, unless, of course, it was the man's own eloquence, and not his being my pupil, that you envied. For to speak plainly, Volumnius, my charming friend, I am either a hopeless failure, or else I have lost all confidence in myself, now that my old cronies who gave me a certain vogue—and you too applauded me—are lost to me, so that, even if I 1

si quando aliquid dignum nostro nomine emisimus, ingemiscamus, quod haec

> pennigero, non armigero in corpore tela exerceantur,

ut ait Philoctetes apud Accium,

> abiecta gloria.

2 Sed tamen omnia mihi erunt, si tu veneris, hilariora; quamquam venis, ut ipse intellegis, in maximarum quasi concursum occupationum; quas si, ut volumus, exceperimus, ego vero multam salutem et foro dicam et curiae vivamque tecum multum et cum communibus nostris amatoribus. Nam et Cassius tuus et Dolabella noster, vel potius uterque noster, studiis iisdem tenentur et meis aequissimis utuntur auribus. Opus est huc limatulo et polito tuo iudicio, et illis interioribus litteris tuis, quibus saepe verecundiorem me in loquendo facis. Mihi enim iudicatum est, si modo hoc Caesar aut patietur aut volet, deponere illam iam personam, in qua me saepe illi ipsi probavi, ac me totum in litteras abdere tecumque et cum ceteris earum studiosis honestissimo otio perfrui. Tu vellem ne veritus esses, ne pigrius[1] legerem tuas litteras, si mihi (quemadmodum scribis) longiores forte misisses; ac velim posthac sic statuas, tuas mihi litteras longissimas quasque gratissimas fore.

[1] *Madvig*: pluribus *vulg.*; per librarios *Orelli*.

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[a] See note *a* on p. 94.
[b] *i.e.*, that of a man engaged in public affairs.

ever produce something worthy of my reputation, I heave a sigh at the thought that, as Philoctetes says in Accius,

> These arrows shoot I now at feathered folk,
> Not foes in arms; there is no glory in it.[a]

However, if you come, it will make life generally more cheerful for me, though your coming, as you are yourself aware, will coincide with what I may call a massed attack of the most pressing business engagements; and if I can but meet them as I would, well, then I shall bid a long farewell to both forum and senate-house, and spend much of my time with you and those who love us both. For your friend Cassius and my friend Dolabella (or I should rather call them both my friends), are absorbed in the same studies, and find in me a very kindly critic. 2

Here we need the help of your exquisitely refined discrimination and of that esoteric erudition of yours, whereby you often make me rather ashamed of myself when I am speaking. Indeed I have made up my mind, if only Caesar will either permit or press me to do so, at last to drop that rôle[b] in which I have so often approved myself even to him, conceal myself completely in literature, and in company with you and all other literary enthusiasts, enjoy the sweets of a most honourable retirement.

As for yourself, I could have wished you had not expressed any fear of my being ever inclined to yawn over any letter of yours, should you by any chance have sent me, as you put it, rather a long one; and I would have you henceforth regard it as settled that the longest letters you send me give me the greatest pleasure.

M. TULLI CICERONIS EPISTULARUM AD FAMILIARES

LIBER OCTAVUS

I

M. CAELIUS S. D. M. CICERONI

Romae, A.U.C. 703.

1 Quod tibi decedenti pollicitus sum, me omnes res urbanas diligentissime tibi perscripturum, data opera

[a] M. Caecilius Rufus, the son of a Roman knight, a banker at Tusculum, was born about 85 B.C. At an early age he was brought to Rome by his father and put under the charge of Cicero and Crassus with a view to a political career. Unprincipled, profligate, and irascible but generous, he soon made his mark as an advocate, though stronger in prosecution than in defence. He was one of the lovers of the notorious Clodia, supplanting Catullus (who writes of her as "Lesbia"), but, breaking with her, he nicknamed her *quadrantaria*, "the lady whose price was a penny." In revenge she induced Sempronius Atratinus to charge him with borrowing money from her to compass the death of Dion, the head of Ptolemy Auletes' embassy to Rome, and then attempting to murder her. Caelius, however, supported by Cicero and Crassus, successfully defended

CICERO'S LETTERS TO HIS FRIENDS

BOOK VIII

I

M. CAELIUS RUFUS [a] TO CICERO

Rome, June, 51 B.C.

As you were leaving me, I promised to write you a very careful and full account of all that happened in the city; well, I have been at some pains to get hold 1

himself. In 52 he was tribune of the plebs, and in 50 was elected aedile, defeating Octavius and Hirrus at the poll. It was during 51 and 50 that he wrote to Cicero, then in Cilicia, the letters contained in this book. In 49 he took Caesar's side, and was rewarded with the praetorship in 48. Being heavily in debt, he took advantage of Caesar's absence from Italy to bring forward a law for the abolition of debts, but was opposed by the other magistrates and deprived of his office. He then joined the exiled Milo, whom he had secretly summoned from Massilia, in S. Italy, in order to raise an insurrection against Caesar. Milo was slain in the territory of the Hirpini, and Caelius soon afterwards at Thurii. Cicero had always a kindly regard for him, and that Caelius reciprocated that regard is proved by the punctilious fidelity with which, in these letters, he keeps Cicero informed of every phase of affairs at Rome.

paravi, qui sic omnia persequeretur, ut verear, ne tibi nimium arguta haec sedulitas videatur. Tametsi tu scio quam sis curiosus, et quam omnibus peregrinantibus gratum sit, minimarum quoque rerum, quae domi gerantur, fieri certiores, tamen in hoc te deprecor, ne meum hoc officium arrogantiae condemnes, quod hunc laborem alteri delegavi; non quin mihi suavissimum sit, et occupato et ad litteras scribendas, ut tu nosti, pigerrimo, tuae memoriae dare operam, sed ipsum volumen, quod tibi misi, facile, ut ego arbitror, me excusat. Nescio cuius oti esset, non modo perscribere haec, sed omnino animadvertere. Omnia enim sunt ibi senatusconsulta, edicta, fabulae, rumores. Quod exemplum si forte minus te delectarit, ne molestiam tibi cum impensa
2 mea exhibeam, fac me certiorem. Si quid in republica maius actum erit, quod isti operarii minus commode persequi possint, et quemadmodum actum sit, et quae existimatio secuta, quaeque de eo spes sit, diligenter tibi perscribemus. Ut nunc est, nulla magno opere exspectatio est. Nam et illi rumores de comitiis Transpadanorum Cumarum tenus caluerunt; Romam cum venissem, ne tenuissimam quidem auditionem de ea re accepi. Praeterea Marcellus, quod adhuc nihil rettulit de successione provinciarum Galliarum, et in Kalendas Iun., ut mihi ipse dixit, eam distulit relationem, sanequam eos sermones

[a] *i.e.*, the assembly summoned to vote on the proposal that the towns north of the Padus should become *municipia* and receive the full Roman franchise (*civitas*), whereas now they had only the *latinitas*, or *ius Latii*. The *civitas* was granted them by Caesar as consul in 49.

[b] M. Claudius Marcellus, consul in 51 B.C.

[c] That Caesar should give up his Gallic provinces on March 1, 49.

of a man who would report every detail—so minutely, indeed, that I fear you will regard his efforts in that line as a mere excess of loquacity. Although I know how keenly interested you are, and what pleasure it gives all who are abroad to be informed of even the most trivial transactions at home, still, as to this particular arrangement, I implore you not to condemn this way of discharging my duty as savouring of superciliousness, simply because I have delegated the task to another. It is not that anything in the world would be more delightful to me, busy as I am, and the laziest of letter-writers, than to refresh my memories of you. But the packet I send you herewith itself explains my conduct. It would require I don't know how much leisure, not only to write out all this, but even to cast an eye over it. Decrees of the Senate, edicts, gossip, rumours—they are all there. If you are not altogether pleased with this sample, be sure you let me know, so that I may not exhaust your patience and my purse at the same time.

Should anything of unusual political importance be 2
transacted, which those scribes of mine cannot adequately explain, I will send you a full and accurate account of the way it was done, what was thought of it afterwards, and what anticipations it has aroused. As things now are, there is no great expectation of anything happening. For those rumours about the *comitia* of the Transpadani[a] were rife enough, until I got as far as Cumae; when I reached Rome, I never heard the slightest whisper about it. Then there's Marcellus[b]; so far he has not brought any motion before the Senate about the succession to the Gallic provinces,[c] and has put off doing so, as he told me himself, till June 1, with the result that he has

expressit, qui de eo tum fuerant, cum Romae nos
3 essemus. Tu si Pompeium, ut volebas, offendisti, qui tibi visus sit, et quam orationem habuerit tecum, quamque ostenderit voluntatem (solet enim aliud sentire et loqui, neque tantum valere ingenio, ut non
4 appareat, quid cupiat), fac mihi perscribas. Quod ad Caesarem, crebri et non belli de eo rumores; sed susurratores dumtaxat veniunt; alius equitem perdidisse, quod opinor certe factum est; alius septimam legionem vapulasse; ipsum apud Bellovacos circumsederi, interclusum ab reliquo exercitu; neque adhuc certi quidquam est, neque haec incerta tamen vulgo iactantur, sed inter paucos, quos tu nosti, palam secreto narrantur. At Domitius, cum manus ad os
5 apposuit! Te a. d. IX. Kal. Iunii subrostrani (quod illorum capiti sit!) dissiparant periisse, ut in Urbe ac foro toto maximus rumor fuerit, te a Q. Pompeio in itinere occisum. Ego, qui scirem, Q. Pompeium Baulis πεινητικὴν[1] facere, et usque eo, ut ego misererer eius, esurire, non sum commotus; et hoc mendacio, si qua pericula tibi impenderent, ut de-

[1] *Sc.* τεχνήν *Klotz. But M (correctly?) has* embaeneticam (*sc.* artem), "*is in the fishing-boat business.*"

[a] That he was slow and inefficient, "tardus et parum efficax."

[b] *i.e.*, as a sign of secrecy. After *Domitius* something like *narrat* must be supplied. This Domitius is Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, who married Porcia, sister of M. Cato. He was a faithful supporter of the aristocratical party. He was aedile in 61, praetor in 58, and consul in 54. When the Civil War broke out in 49 he threw himself into Corfinium, but his own troops forced him to surrender to Caesar. He then went to Massilia, and on the surrender of that town, joined Pompey in Greece. He commanded the left wing in the battle of Pharsalia, in which he fell (according to Cicero) by the hand of Antony.

helped not a little to aggravate those rumours[a] one heard about him when we were in Rome.

If, as you hoped, you found Pompey disengaged, be 3
sure you write me a full account of your impression of him, what conversation he had with you, and what he professed to be his wishes; for, as a rule, he thinks one thing and says another, and yet is not quite clever enough to disguise his desires.

As regards Caesar, there are frequent reports about 4
him and they are not very nice; at any rate there are strange whisperings among the fresh arrivals here; one fellow says he has lost his cavalry, which I suspect is undoubtedly the case; another that the seventh legion has had a thrashing; that he himself is hemmed in among the Bellovaci, and cut off from the rest of his army; but so far there is nothing certain, and even these rumours, and they are only vague, are, after all, not publicly disseminated, but only talked about as open secrets among the little gang you wot of—Domitius, indeed, puts his fingers to his lips before he speaks.[b]

On the 24th of May the loafers about the Rostra 5
had spread the report (so be it unto them!) that *you* had been done away with, so that the city and forum rang with the persistent rumour that you had been murdered on your journey by Q. Pompeius.[c] Now I, who happened to know that Q. Pompeius was undergoing starvation treatment at Bauli, and so extremely hungry that even I was sorry for him, was not upset, and I very much hoped that that lie would enable us to get rid of whatever dangers were hanging over you.

[c] Quintus Pompeius Rufus, the bitter opponent of Milo, accused by Caelius and forced to retire to Bauli in Campania, where he was generously treated by his prosecutor Caelius.

fungeremur, optavi. Plancus quidem tuus Ravennae est, et magno congiario donatus a Caesare nec beatus nec bene instructus est. Tui πολιτικοὶ libri omnibus vigent.

II

CAELIUS CICERONI S.

Romae, A.U.C. 703.

1 Certe, inquam, absolutus est; me praesente pronuntiatum est, et quidem omnibus ordinibus, et singulis in uno quoque ordine sententiis. Ride modo, inquis. Non, mehercules. Nihil enim umquam tam praeter opinionem, tam quod videretur omnibus indignum, accidit. Quin ego, cum pro amicitia validissime faverem ei, et me iam ad dolendum praeparassem, postquam factum est, obstupui et mihi visus sum captus esse. Quid alios putas? Clamoribus scilicet maximis iudices corripuerunt, et ostenderunt, plane esse, quod ferri non posset. Itaque relictus lege Licinia in maiore esse periculo videtur. Accessit huc quod postridie eius absolutionem in theatrum Curionis Hortensius introiit, puto ut suum gaudium gauderemus. Hic tibi

strepitus, fremitus, clamor tonitruum, et rudentum sibilus.

Hoc magis animadversum est, quod intactus a sibilo

[a] T. Munatius Plancus Bursa was closely associated with Q. Pompeius Rufus, and an enemy of Cicero.

[b] M. Valerius Messalla, accused probably of *ambitus* ("bribery and corruption"), and defended by Hortensius.

[c] The penalties inflicted by the Lex Licinia were much heavier than those under the law for *ambitus*. As a matter of fact Messalla *was* subsequently tried and condemned under that law. See viii. 4. 1.

[d] Quoted, it is supposed, from the *Teucer* of Pacuvius.

Your dear Plancus[a] is at Ravenna; and though he has been presented with a handsome honorarium by Caesar, he is neither prosperous nor even decently well off.

Your books on the Republic are universally popular.

II

CAELIUS TO CICERO

Rome, June, 51 B.C.

There is no doubt of it, I tell you; he[b] has been 1
acquitted; I was present when the verdict was given, and that with all the orders voting, and by the unanimous vote of each separate order. Treat it as a joke, you say. Good heavens, no! It is the most unexpected, and, as we all think, the most discreditable thing that ever happened. Why, I myself, who backed him for all I was worth, because we were such friends, had by this time prepared myself for disappointment, and when it actually occurred, I was astounded and thought I had taken leave of my senses. And the others, how do you suppose *they* took it? Well, naturally, they swept the jurors off their feet with their savage yells, and made it abundantly clear that they could not stomach it. So he is left high and dry, and under the Licinian law[c] is in worse danger, I take it, than ever.

I should add that, on the day after his acquittal, Hortensius entered Curio's theatre, to give us the chance, I suppose, of showing that his joy was ours. Instantly you heard

Din and uproar, crash of thunder, and the hissing of the shrouds,[d]

which last was all the more remarked upon, because

pervenerat Hortensius ad senectutem; sed tum ita bene, ut in totam vitam cuivis satis esset, et poenite-
2 ret eum iam vicisse. De republica quod tibi scribam, nihil habeo. Marcelli impetus resederunt, non inertia, sed (ut mihi videbatur) consilio. De comitiis consularibus incertissima est existimatio. Ego incidi in competitorem nobilem et nobilem agentem. Nam M. Octavius, Cn. filius, et C. Hirrus mecum petit. Hoc ideo scripsi, quod scio, te acriter, propter Hirrum, nuntium nostrorum comitiorum exspectaturum. Tu tamen simul ac me designatum audieris, ut tibi curae sit, quod ad pantheras attinet, rogo. Syngrapham Sittianam tibi commendo. Commentarium rerum urbanarum primum dedi L. Castrinio Paeto, secundum ei, qui has litteras tibi dedit.

III

CAELIUS CICERONI S.

Romae, A.U.C. 703.

1 Estne? vici? et tibi saepe, quod negaras discedens curaturum tibi, litteras mitto? Est, si quidem perferuntur, quas do. Atque hoc eo diligentius factito, quod, cum otiosus sum, plane, ubi delectem otiolum meum, non habeo. Tu cum Romae eras, hoc mihi certum ac iucundissimum vacanti negotium

[a] For Hirrus see ii. 9 and 10.

[b] Caelius was anxious to get these animals for the *venationes* in the games he was giving as aedile.

[c] *Syngrapha* was a written bond, signed by both parties, used in negotiations between Romans and foreigners. Sittius, probably Caelius's agent, held such a bond for money owing to him.

Hortensius had reached a venerable age unscathed by a single hiss. But now he was hissed heartily enough to satisfy anyone for the whole of his life, and to make him sorry that he had ever won this case.

As regards politics, I have nothing to write to you. 2
Marcellus is less aggressive in his attacks, not from apathy, but, I take it, from policy. There are the vaguest speculations as to the consular elections. As it happens I have standing against me a real noble and a would-be noble; for M. Octavius, son of Gnaeus, and C. Hirrus[a] are my competitors. I have jotted this down because I know how keenly you will be on the look-out for news of our elections, on account of Hirrus. Anyhow, as soon as you hear that I am consul-designate, I beg you to interest yourself in the matter of the panthers.[b] I recommend to your notice the bond[c] which Sittius holds. I handed my first collection of notes on city affairs to L. Castrinius Paetus, my second to the bearer of this letter.

III

CAELIUS TO CICERO

Rome, June, 51 B.C.

Is it so? Have I won? And do I constantly send 1
you letters, a thing you declared on leaving Rome that I should never take the trouble to do for you? It is so, provided, of course, that the letters I do send you reach you. And I do so all the more diligently because, when I am at leisure, I have simply nowhere to make pleasant use of my bit of leisure. When *you* were at Rome, it used to be the unfailing and most

erat, tecum id oti tempus consumere; idque non mediocriter desidero, ut non modo mihi solus esse, sed Romae, te profecto, solitudo videatur facta; et qui (quae mea neglegentia est) multos saepe dies ad te, cum hic eras, non accedebam, nunc quotidie non esse te, ad quem cursitem, discrucior. Maxime vero, ut te dies noctesque quaeram, competitor Hirrus curat. Quomodo illum putas auguratus tuum competitorem dolere et dissimulare me certiorem quam se candidatum? de quo, ut, quem optas, quam primum nuntium accipias, tua medius fidius magis quam mea causa cupio. Nam, si fio, forsitan cum locupletiore fiam.[1] Sed hoc usque eo suave est, ut, si acciderit, tota vita risus nobis deesse non possit. Est tanti? est mehercule. Non multum M. Octavius odia,[2] quae Hirrum premunt, quae permulta sunt, sublevat.
2 Quod ad Philotimi liberti officium et bona Milonis attinet, dedimus operam, ut et Philotimus quam honestissime Miloni absenti eiusque necessariis satisfaceret, et secundum eius fidem et sedulitatem existimatio tua conservaretur. Illud nunc a te peto, si eris (ut spero) otiosus, aliquod ad nos, ut intelle-

[1] nam . . . fiam *is Wesenberg's satisfactory reading of a corrupt passage.*

[2] eorum odia *MSS.; but I agree with Ernesti in omitting* eorum.

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[a] He means Octavius; and a richer colleague would mean that Caelius would have to spend more money in rivalling that colleague's magnificent shows. Tyrrell.

[b] Milo's property being forfeit to the state, Cicero, at the instance of one Duro, a particular friend of Milo's, had induced Philotimus, a freedman of Cicero's wife Terentia, to be one of the buyers (*sectores*) of the forfeit property when sold by the State, as being more likely than a complete stranger to deal fairly with Milo.

delightful employment of my idle hours to spend all that leisure time with you. And so terribly do I miss it all, that not only do I seem solitary myself, but your departure seems to have created a universal solitude in Rome; and I, who, in my heedlessness, often failed to visit you for many days when you were here, am now in daily distress because I have not got you to run to. But it is my competitor Hirrus who sees to it with the greatest success that I keep on yearning for you day and night. You may well imagine how annoyed your old rival for the augurate is, and how he pretends that I am no more sure of election than himself. And, upon my soul, I am more anxious on your account, that the news you pray for about him should reach you as soon as possible, than I am on my own. For as regards myself, if I am elected, I shall probably be so with a colleague wealthier than myself[a]; but there is this much in it to smack the lips over, that, if it comes to pass, we can always have something to laugh at as long as we live. But is it worth the trouble? Yes, I swear it is. Octavius does little to mitigate the antipathies he has roused—antipathies that are handicapping Hirrus, and there is no lack of them.

As to the responsibilities of your freedman Philo- 2
timus,[b] and Milo's property, I have made it my object to ensure that Philotimus should do his duty in the most honourable manner by Milo in his absence and by his relatives, and that as far as his honesty and assiduity are concerned your reputation should be fully maintained.

I now make a special request of you—that if ever you are (as I hope you will be) at leisure, you should compose and dedicate to me some sort of a *brochure*,

gamus nos tibi curae esse, σύνταγμα conscribas. Qui tibi istuc, inquis, in mentem venit, homini non inepto? Opto[1] aliquid ex tam multis tuis monumentis exstare, quod nostrae amicitiae memoriam posteris quoque prodat. Cuiusmodi velim, puto, quaeris. Tu citius, qui omnem nosti disciplinam, quid maxime conveniat, excogitabis. Genere tamen, quod et ad nos pertineat, et διδασκαλίαν quamdam, ut versetur inter manus, habeat.

IV

M. CAELIUS S. D. M. CICERONI

Romae, A.U.C. 703.

1 Invideo tibi; tam multa quotidie, quae mirere, istuc perferuntur. Primum illud, absolutum Messallam; deinde eumdem condemnatum; C. Marcellum consulem factum; M. Calidium a repulsa postulatum a Galliis duobus; P. Dolabellam quindecimvirum factum. Hoc tibi non invideo, caruisse te pulcherrimo spectaculo, et Lentuli Cruris repulsi vultum non vidisse. At qua spe, quam certa opinione descenderat! quam ipso diffidente Dolabella! Et

[1] *This necessary addition is probably due to Klotz. Tyrrell.*

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[a] *i.e.*, Cicero's works, which would be his perpetual "monument" or "memorial."

[b] See *Ep.* 2 of this Book.

[c] *i.e.*, for the year 50, thus succeeding his cousin, M. Marcellus, consul in 51. Another C. Marcellus, brother of M. Marcellus, was consul in 49.

[d] On a charge of *ambitus*; there was an hereditary feud between the Gallii and the Calidii.

[e] Afterwards the husband of Cicero's daughter, Tullia.

to make me feel that you take an interest in me. "What put that into your head?" you ask, "for you are no fool." My desire is that among all your many memorials[a] there should be one extant that will also hand down to posterity the memory of our friendship. I suppose you will ask "what is the sort of thing you want?" Well, you, acquainted as you are with every department of learning, will think of something most suitable sooner than I.

But let it be of such a character as to make it, while especially applicable to myself, so generally "educative" (if I may use the expression) as to have a wide circulation.

IV

CAELIUS TO CICERO

Rome, August 1, 51 B.C.

I envy you! There is so much news arriving daily 1
where you are to cause you surprise—first that Messalla[b] has been acquitted, then that he has been condemned; that C. Marcellus has been made consul[c]; that M. Calidius immediately after his rejection was impeached[d] by the brothers Gallii; and that P. Dolabella[e] has been put on the "Board of Fifteen." What I do *not* envy you is your having missed a very pretty spectacle, and not seen Lentulus Crus's[f] face when he was rejected. And yet, how sanguine he was, and how sure of himself, when he entered the lists! And that when Dolabella himself despaired of success! And upon my word, had

The *XVviri sacris faciundis* had charge of the Sibylline books.

[f] A candidate for the post to which Dolabella was elected.

hercules, nisi nostri equites acutius vidissent, paene
2 concedente adversario superasset. Illud te non arbitror miratum, Servaeum, designatum tribunum plebis, condemnatum; cuius locum C. Curio petiit. Sanequam incutit multis, qui eum facilitatemque eius non norunt, magnum metum; sed, ut spero et volo, et ut se fert ipse, bonos et senatum malet. Totus, ut nunc est, hoc scaturit. Huius voluntatis initium et causa est, quod eum non mediocriter Caesar, qui solet infimorum hominum amicitias sibi qualibet impensa adiungere, valde contempsit. Qua in re mihi videtur illud perquam venuste cecidisse, quod a reliquis quoque usque eo est animadversum, ut Curio, qui nihil consilio facit, ratione et insidiis usus videretur in evitandis eorum consiliis, qui se intenderant adversarios in eius tribunatum; Laelios et Antonios, et id
3 genus valentes dico. Has ego tibi litteras eo maiore misi intervallo, quod comitiorum dilationes occupatiorem me habebant, et exspectare in dies exitum cogebant, ut, confectis omnibus, te facerem certiorem. Ad Kalendas Sextiles usque exspectavi. Praetoriis morae quaedam inciderunt. Mea porro comitia quem eventum sint habitura, nescio. Opinionem quidem, quod ad Hirrum attinet, incredibilem aedi-

[a] Condemned for *ambitus*; nothing more is known of him.

[b] The famous C. Scribonius Curio. See note to ii. 1.

[c] Either from jealousy, or because they doubted his sincerity, and feared that, if elected, he might go over to Caesar.

not our friends, the Knights, shown a keener insight, he would almost have won his election through the retirement of his opponent.

I imagine that the conviction of Servaeus,[a] the 2
tribune elect, was no surprise to you. C. Curio[b] is a candidate for his place. There is no doubt that he inspires many people, who do not know him and his accommodating nature, with no little apprehension. But, as I hope and pray, and judge by his present behaviour, he will prefer the loyalist party and the Senate. At the present moment he is simply bubbling over with enthusiasm in that direction. The origin and reason of this partisanship is, that Caesar, prone as he is to enlist at whatever cost the affections of the very lowest class of man, has deeply insulted him in a very marked way. And regarding the whole matter, this seems to me a very pretty development of affairs, and it has struck everybody else too so forcibly as to suggest that Curio, a man who never does anything according to plan, exercised policy and strategy in eluding the intentions of those who have set themselves to oppose his tribuneship—I mean the Lollii and the Antonii, and influential men of that sort.[c]

I send you this letter after a longer interval than 3
usual, because I have been kept busier than usual by the adjournments of the elections, and compelled day after day to wait for their final result, so that I might apprise you of it when all was settled. I have waited right up to the 1st of August. There have been certain hitches, too, in the election of praetors. Then again I have no idea what the result of my own election will be, though it is true that the expression of opinion it elicited against Hirrus—I mean at the

lium plebis comitiis nacta sunt. Nam M. Coelium Vinicianum mentio illa fatua, quam deriseramus olim, et promulgatio de dictatore subito deiecit, et deiectum magno clamore insecuta est. Inde Hirrum cuncti iam non faciendum flagitare. Spero te celeriter et de nobis, quod sperasti, et de illo, quod
4 vix sperare ausus es, auditurum. De republica iam novi quidquam exspectare desieramus; sed cum senatus habitus esset ad Apollinis a. d. XI. Kalend. Sext., et referretur de stipendio Cn. Pompeii, mentio facta est de legione ea, quam expensam tulit C. Caesari Pompeius, quo numero esset, quoad pateretur[1] eam Pompeius esse in Gallia. Coactus est dicere Pompeius, se legionem abducturum, sed non statim, sub mentionem et convicium obtrectatorum. Inde interrogatus est de successione C. Caesaris; de qua, hoc est de provinciis, placitum est, "ut quam primum ad Urbem reverteretur Cn. Pompeius, ut coram eo de successione provinciarum ageretur." Nam Ariminum ad exercitum Pompeius erat iturus; et statim iit. Puto Idib. Sextil. de ea re actum iri. Profecto aut transigetur aliquid aut turpiter intercedetur. Nam in disputando coniecit illam vocem Cn. Pom-

[1] *C. F. Hermann, for* quo appeteretur *MSS.*

[a] *i.e.*, that Pompey should be appointed *Dictator*, a title that had fallen into disrepute since the proscriptions of Sulla. Hirrus had made a like proposal some years earlier.

[b] This legion was lent in 53 to replace men lost in a contest with the Eburones in 54. Watson.

election of plebeian aediles—was amazingly strong. For that silly proposal of M. Coelius Vinicianus, which we had long ago laughed to scorn, and his proposed Bill about a Dictator,[a] caused his sudden downfall, and brought a storm of execration upon him when he was down; and since then everybody has been excitedly demanding that Hirrus, too, should not be elected. I hope you will very soon hear the news you have hoped for about me, and at the same time the news you hardly ventured to hope for about him.

As regards politics, I had now ceased to expect any development; but when, at a meeting of the Senate in the temple of Apollo on the 22nd of July, it was proposed to vote for the payment of Cn. Pompeius's troops, the question was raised as to that legion which Pompey had lent to C. Caesar[b]—to what contingent it belonged, and how long Pompey would allow it to remain in Gaul. He was compelled to say (not immediately, but only after insinuations and outcries on the part of his detractors) that he would withdraw the legion. He was then interrogated as to the appointment of a successor to C. Caesar. On this point—the assignment, that is, of the provinces—it was carried that "Cn. Pompeius should return to the city as soon as possible, so that the succession to the provinces might be dealt with in his presence." For Pompey was just about to join his army at Ariminum, and, indeed, he went there immediately afterwards. My impression is that the business will be dealt with on the 13th of August. There will be some definite settlement, I am sure, or else the veto will be scandalously applied. For in the course of the discussion Cn. Pompeius gave excited 4

peius, '*Omnes oportere senatui dicto audientes esse.*' Ego tamen sic nihil exspecto, quomodo Paullum, consulem designatum, primum sententiam dicentem.
5 Saepius te admoneo de syngrapha Sittiana. Cupio enim te intellegere, eam rem ad me valde pertinere. Item de pantheris, ut Cibyratas arcessas, curesque, ut mihi vehantur. Praeterea nuntiatum nobis, et pro certo iam habetur, regem Alexandrinum mortuum. Quid mihi suadeas, quomodo regnum illud se habeat, quis procuret, diligenter mihi perscribas. Kalendis Sextil.

V

CAELIUS CICERONI S.

Romae, A.U.C. 703.

1 Qua tu cura sis, quod ad pacem provinciae tuae finitimarumque regionum attinet, nescio; ego quidem vehementer animi pendeo. Nam si hoc moderari possemus, ut pro viribus copiarum tuarum belli quoque exsisteret magnitudo, et quantum loreae[1] triumphoque opus esset, assequeremur, periculosamque et gravem illam dimicationem evitaremus, nihil tam esset optandum. Nunc si Parthus

[1] loreae (*a common form of* laureae) *is Mendelssohn's excellent substitution for* gloriae *codd.*

[a] L. Aemilius Paullus, consul in 50, a man of little weight, whose allegiance was bought by Caesar. The consuls elect were always the first to be asked to express their *sententia* in the Senate.
[b] See *Ep.* 2. 2, note *c*.
[c] Which Rufus required for his *venationes* as aedile.

utterance to the words *that it was every man's duty to render obedience to the Senate.* As for myself, however, there is nothing I look forward to so eagerly as to hearing Paullus[a] give his opinion first, as consul elect.

I keep reminding you again and again about 5 Sittius's bond[b]; for I am anxious that you should understand how exceedingly important that matter is to me. Also about the panthers,[c] that you should send for some men from Cibyra,[d] and see that the animals are shipped to me. Another thing; it has been reported to us, and is now accepted as a fact, that the king of Alexandria[e] is dead. Please write fully and carefully what you advise me to do, what the situation is in that kingdom, and who is the vice-regent.[f]

V

CAELIUS TO CICERO

Rome, early in August, 51 B.C.

As regards maintaining peace in your province and 1 the adjoining districts, what *your* anxiety may be I don't know; I at any rate am in sore suspense. If we could only manage to make the development of the war correspond to the strength of your forces, and win just so much success as was requisite for a laurel wreath and a triumph, and avoid the dangerous and decisive engagement you apprehend, nothing could be so desirable. As it is, if the Parthian makes

[d] A town on the borders of Phrygia and Cilicia.
[e] Ptolemy XIII. (" Auletes "), who had now been restored by Gabinius. See i. 1 and 2.
[f] The vice-regent was Pothinus, the murderer of Pompey.

movet aliquid, scio non mediocrem fore contentionem. Tuus porro exercitus vix unum saltum tueri potest. Hanc autem nemo ducit rationem; sed omnia desiderantur ab eo, tamquam nihil denegatum sit ei, quo minus quam paratissimus esset, qui publico
2 negotio praepositus est. Accedit huc quod successionem futuram, propter Galliarum controversiam, non video. Tametsi hac de re puto te constitutum, quid facturus esses, habere, tamen, quo maturius constitueres, cum hunc eventum providebam, visum est ut te facerem certiorem. Nosti enim haec tralaticia; de Galliis constituetur; erit, qui intercedat; deinde alius exsistet, qui, nisi libere liceat de omnibus provinciis decernere senatui, reliquas impediat. Sic multum ac diu ludetur, atque ita diu, ut plus bien-
3 nium in his tricis moretur. Si quid novi de republica, quod tibi scriberem, haberem, usus essem mea consuetudine, ut diligenter et quid actum esset, et quid ex eo futurum sperarem, perscriberem. Sane tamquam in quodam incili iam omnia adhaeserunt. Marcellus idem illud de provinciis urget, neque adhuc frequentem senatum efficere potuit. Quod si anno praeterito Curio tribunus, et eadem actio de provinciis, introibit, quam facile tunc sit omnia im-

[a] *Incile* (from *incidile*), lit. a cut, trench, or ditch.

any move, I feel sure the struggle will be no slight one. Besides, your army can hardly hold a single pass. Nobody, however, takes this into account, but everything is expected of a man who has been given the control of a public transaction, because it is taken for granted that nothing has been refused him to make his equipment as complete as possible.

I must say further that I don't see any probability 2
of a successor to you being appointed, because of the dispute about the Gallic provinces. Although as regards that question I imagine you have made up your mind what to do, still, now that I foresee such a possibility, I decided to inform you of it, to help you to make up your mind all the sooner. For you know the traditional procedure in such cases—the question of the Gallic provinces will be settled; there will be some one to apply the veto; then somebody else will get up to obstruct the settlement in the case of the other provinces, "unless the Senate is allowed a free hand to decide in the case of all the provinces." So we shall have a merry game and a long one, so long, indeed, that more than two years will be dragged out in such chicanery.

Had I anything new to write to you about politics, 3
I should have observed my usual practice and written you a full and careful account of what has been done, and what I expect to be the result of it. But really everything has now become jammed, as it were, in a sort of culvert.[a] Marcellus is still pressing his old policy as to the provinces, and has not yet succeeded in getting a full enough house. But if at the end of the year Curio's tribuneship and the same old pleadings about the provinces take the stage, you must surely see how easy it is in such circumstances to

pedire, et quam hoc Caesar iique, qui in[1] sua causa rempublicam non curent, sperent,[2] non te fallit.

VI

CAELIUS CICERONI S.

Romae, A.U.C. 704.

1 Non dubito quin perlatum ad te sit Appium a Dolabella reum factum, sanequam non ea, qua existimaveram, invidia. Neque enim stulte Appius; qui, simul atque Dolabella accessit ad tribunal, introierat in Urbem triumphique postulationem abiecerat. Quo facto rettudit sermones, paratiorque visus est, quam speraverat accusator. Is nunc in te maximam spem habet. Scio tibi eum non esse odio. Quam velis eum obligare, in tua manu est; cum quo simultas si tibi non fuisset, liberius tibi de tota re esset. Nunc si ad illam summam veritatem legitimum ius exegeris, cavendum tibi erit, ne parum simpliciter et candide posuisse inimicitias videaris. In hanc partem porro tutum tibi erit, si quid volueris, gratificari. Nemo enim necessitudine et amicitia te deterritum
2 ab officio dicet. Illud mihi occurrit, quod inter po-

[1] *Inserted by Tyrrell.* [2] *Orelli*: superet *MSS.*

[a] On a charge of *maiestas*, connected with Appius's administration of Cilicia. The defence was conducted by Hortensius and Brutus, and Appius was acquitted.

[b] As a commander who claimed a triumph had to remain outside the city, he would automatically disqualify himself by entering.

block all business, and how devoutly Caesar and those who, where their private interests are concerned, have no regard at all for the commonwealth, are hoping for such a state of things.

VI

CAELIUS TO CICERO

Rome, February, 50 B.C.

I have no doubt you have received the news that 1
Appius has been impeached by Dolabella,[a] though certainly without creating any such prejudice against him as I had expected. For Appius did a very sensible thing; as soon as Dolabella appeared at the tribunal, he entered the city and so revoked his application for a triumph,[b] and by so doing took the edge off any gossip there might be, and showed himself better prepared than his accuser had anticipated. His greatest hope now lies in you. I am sure you do not really hate him. How far you desire to put him under an obligation, it rests with you to decide. Had you never been at feud with him, you would have had a freer hand in dealing with the whole affair; as it is, if you enforce your legal rights to the level of ideal justice, you will have to mind that you are not suspected of a lack of frankness and candour in your reconciliation with him. The drift of my argument is that you will be safe in doing him any favour you please; for nobody will say it was the ties of intimacy and friendship that deterred you from doing your duty.

I am reminded of the fact that, between the 2

stulationem et nominis delationem uxor a Dolabella discessit. Quid mihi discedens mandaris, memini; quid ego tibi scripserim, te non arbitror oblitum. Non est iam tempus plura narrandi. Unum illud monere te possum: si res tibi non displicebit, tamen hoc tempore nihil de tua voluntate ostendas, et exspectes, quemadmodum exeat ex hac causa; denique invidiosum tibi sit, si emanarit. Porro, significatio ulla si intercesserit, clarius, quam deceat aut expediat, fiat. Neque ille tacere eam rem poterit, quae suae spei tam opportuna acciderit, quaque in negotio conficiendo tanto illustrior erit; cum praesertim is sit, qui, si perniciosum sciret esse loqui de hac re, vix tamen se
3 contineret. Pompeius dicitur valde pro Appio laborare, ut etiam putent alterum utrum de filiis ad te missurum. Hic nos omnes absolvimus; et hercule consepta omnia foeda et inhonesta sunt. Consules autem habemus summa diligentia; adhuc senatusconsultum, nisi de feriis Latinis, nullum facere potue-
4 runt. Curioni nostro tribunatus conglaciat. Sed dici non potest, quomodo hic omnia iaceant. Nisi

[a] The *postulatio* was the first step in a trial—an application made to the praetor by the accuser for leave to prosecute a definite individual on a definite charge. The *nominis delatio* was the next step, more formal and detailed.

[b] As to selecting a third husband for Cicero's daughter Tullia, who had in 63 married C. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, who died, and in 56 Furius Crassipes, from whom she was now divorced.

[c] That Tullia should marry Dolabella.

[d] Of Pompey's two sons, the elder, Gnaeus, married the daughter of Appius Claudius (*cf.* iii. 4. 2); he was killed soon after his defeat at Munda in 45. The younger, Sextus, was famous after Caesar's death as "lord of Sicily and the seas," and is called "Dux Neptunius" by Horace (*Ep.* ix. 7).

application for leave to prosecute,[a] and the announcement of the defendant's name to the court, Dolabella's wife left him. I remember the instructions[b] you gave me on your departure, and I don't suppose you have forgotten what I wrote to you. This is not the time to go into further particulars; I can but give you this one piece of advice; if the proposal[c] be to your liking, you should nevertheless give no indication of your feelings for the present, but wait and see how he comes out of this trial. In short, it would be prejudicial to you, if it leaked out. Besides, if any hint of it got out in the course of the trial, it would be given more notoriety than would be either becoming or expedient. And Dolabella will never be able to hold his tongue about a thing which has happened so exactly in accord with his ambitions, and which will give him so much the greater *éclat* in the conduct of the prosecution, especially as he is the sort of man who, even if he knew that it meant ruin to him to blab about this matter, would still have difficulty in restraining himself.

It is said that Pompey is working hard for Appius, 3
so much so that it is even supposed that he will send one or other of his sons to you.[d] We always acquit everybody here; and upon my word, every sort of villany and scandal is effectually hedged in. We have consuls, however, whose activity is quite remarkable; so far the only decree they have managed to get through the Senate is the one about the Latin festival.[e] Friend Curio finds his tribuneship a frost.

But words cannot describe the universal stagna- 4

[e] A mere formality, fixing the date.

ego cum tabernariis et aquariis pugnarem, veternus civitatem occupasset. Si Parthi vos nihil calfaciunt, nos hic frigore frigescimus. Tamen, quoquo modo potuit,[1] sine Parthis Bibulus in Amano nescio quid cohorticularum amisit. Hoc sic nuntiatum est.
5 Quod tibi supra scripsi, Curionem valde frigere; iam calet. Nam ferventissime concerpitur. Levissime enim, quia de intercalando non obtinuerat, transfugit ad populum et pro Caesare loqui coepit; legemque viariam, non dissimilem agrariae Rulli, et alimentariam, quae iubet aediles metiri, iactavit. Hoc nondum fecerat, cum priorem partem epistolae scripsi. Amabo te, si quid quod opus fuerit Appio facies, ponito me in gratia. De Dolabella integrum tibi reserves, suadeo. Et huic rei, de qua loquor, et dignitati tuae aequitatisque opinioni hoc ita facere expedit. Turpe tibi erit, pantheras Graecas[2] me non habere.

[1] *The MSS. have* hic omnia iaceant *between* modo *and* potuit, *but those words were obviously repeated from a few lines above.*

[2] Cibyratas *Suringar and Lehmann.*

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[a] The shopkeepers had evidently bribed the managers of the public water-supply to be allowed to draw more than their quantum for their private use, and Caelius as aedile intervened to check the abuse.

[b] Curio as pontiff had failed to induce his colleagues to intercalate a month in 50 B.C., which was necessary, as no month had been intercalated in 51 B.C. As the insertion would have been made after February 23, it would have postponed the debate on the consular provinces which was arranged for March 1. Curio also wished to prolong his own term of office.

[c] The carrying out of such a law, as in the case of Rullus's law, would have conferred extensive powers over a long period (according to Appian, *five years*) upon its proposer, and Curio in this, as in the matter of the intercalatory month, was playing for time.

tion here. Were it not for the fight I am having with the shopkeepers and water companies,[a] the whole body politic would have sunk into a lethargy. If the Parthians are doing nothing to make it hot for you, we here are as cold as ice. And yet, Bibulus, however he contrived it, has, without the help of the Parthians, lost some few of his dear little cohorts on Mount Amanus; so it is reported.

I wrote to you above that Curio was very cold; 5
well, he is warm enough now; he is being pulled to pieces with red-hot pincers. The fact is that in the most capricious way, simply because he did not hold his ground about the intercalation,[b] he has crossed over to the popular side and is beginning to orate in favour of Caesar; and he talked ostentatiously of a road law[c] much on the lines of Rullus's agrarian law, and also a food law, which insists on the aediles using weights and measures; he had not done so before I wrote the first part of this letter.

If you do anything in the interests of Appius, as I love you, let him give me the credit of it. In the matter of Dolabella, my advice is that you should not commit yourself. That is the best course you can adopt for the proposal I mention, for your own position, and for your reputation for fair dealing. It will be a disgrace to you if I have to go without any Greek[d] panthers.

[d] Because Asia Minor was now hellenized. But see note on the text.

VII

CAELIUS CICERONI S.

Romae, A.U.C. 704.

1 Quam cito tu istinc decedere cupias, nescio; ego quidem eo magis, quo adhuc felicius rem gessisti, dum istic eris, de belli Parthici periculo cruciabor, ne hunc risum meum metus aliqui perturbet. Breviores has litteras properanti publicanorum tabellario subito dedi; tuo liberto pluribus verbis scriptas pridie
2 dederam. Res autem novae nullae sane acciderunt, nisi haec vis tibi scribi, quae certe vis. Cornificius adulescens Orestillae filiam sibi despondit. Paulla Valeria, soror Triari, divortium sine causa, quo die vir e provincia venturus erat, fecit. Nuptura est D. Bruto. Mundum[1] rettulerat. Multa in hoc genere incredibilia, te absente, acciderunt. Servius Ocella nemini persuasisset se moechum esse, nisi triduo bis deprehensus esset. Quaeres, ubi? Ubi hercule ego minime vellem. Relinquo tibi, quod ab aliis quaeras. Neque enim displicet mihi, imperatorem singulos percontari, cum qua sit aliquis deprehensus.

[1] *Pantagathus*: nondum rettuleras *M*: nondum rettuleram ("*I had not yet related it*") *C. F. Hermann.*

[a] Orestilla was Catiline's wife.

VII

CAELIUS TO CICERO

Rome, 50 B.C.

How soon you desire to get away from where you are, I don't know; for my part, the more successful your campaign has hitherto been, the more torturing will be my anxiety about the danger of a Parthian war, lest some apprehension of what is coming may mar this light and jocular style of mine. I handed this unusually brief letter to a carrier employed by the *publicani*, at short notice, because he was in a hurry. I had handed a longer one on the preceding day to your freedman. 1

But absolutely nothing new has occurred, unless you want such tittle-tattle as what follows—and I am sure you do—to be put in a letter to you. Cornificius the younger has promised to marry Orestilla's[a] daughter. Paulla Valeria, the sister of Triarius, has divorced her husband without assigning any reason, on the very day that he was to arrive from his province. She is going to marry D. Brutus. She had sent back her whole wardrobe. 2

Many incredible things of that sort have occurred in your absence. Servius Ocella would never have convinced anybody that he was an adulterer, had he not been caught in the act twice within three days. You will ask where? Well, I swear it was in the very last place I could have wished. I leave you something to worm out of others. For it rather tickles me that an *imperator* should question one man after another who the lady was with whom somebody was caught.

VIII

M. CAELIUS S. D. M. CICERONI

Romae, A.U.C. 703.

1 Etsi de republica quae tibi scribam habeo, tamen nihil quod magis gavisurum te putem habeo, quam hoc. Scito, C. Sempronium Rufum, Rufum, mel ac delicias tuas, calumniam maximo plausu tulisse. Quaeris, qua in causa? M. Tuccium, accusatorem suum, post ludos Romanos reum lege Plotia de vi fecit, hoc consilio, quod videbat, si extraordinarius reus nemo accessisset, sibi hoc anno causam esse dicendam. Dubium porro illi non erat, quid futurum esset. Nemini hoc deferre munusculum maluit quam suo accusatori. Itaque sine ullo subscriptore descendit et Tuccium reum fecit. At ego, simul atque audivi, invocatus ad subsellia rei occurro; surgo, neque verbum de re facio; totum Sempronium usque eo perago, ut Vestorium quoque interponam, et illam fabulam narrem, quemadmodum tibi pro beneficio

[a] This Letter is earlier than the last (*Ep.* 7) by some months.

[b] A banker of Puteoli, under obligations to Cicero, who refers (*Att.* vi. 2. 10) to his εὐήθεια, "gaucherie."

[c] September 5-19.

[d] Nothing is known of Tuccius or of his charge against Rufus.

[e] A defendant on a charge of *vis* could claim such precedence. Rufus's object in providing such a defendant was to put off his own trial till the following year, when he hoped he might have a more favourable praetor, or have time to pack a jury.

VIII

CAELIUS TO CICERO

Rome, October, 51 B.C.[a]

Though I have plenty to tell you about politics, yet 1
I have nothing which will give you greater pleasure, I imagine, than this. You must know that C. Sempronius Rufus[b]—Rufus, I say, the apple of your eye—has won, amid universal applause, nothing less than a conviction for malicious prosecution. "What was the case?" you will ask. Well, when the Roman games[c] were over, he brought a charge of violence under the Plotian law against his own accuser, M. Tuccius[d]; and his object was this—he saw that if no defendant was brought into court whose case could claim precedence,[e] he would have to stand his own trial this year; and what the result of that would be, he could, of course, have no doubt. And he thought there was nobody upon whom he could more fittingly bestow this little attention than his own prosecutor. So, without getting anybody to back[f] his charge, down he came into the forum, and brought an accusation against Tuccius. As soon as I got wind of it, without waiting to be asked, I hurried up and took my seat on the defendant's bench. I rise, and without a word about the question at issue, I vigorously impugn Sempronius and all his works, to the extent of even dragging in Vestorius, and telling the old story of how, if there was anything held by Vestorius, "which he, Sempronius, wrongfully possessed," he,

[f] *Subscriptores* were the subordinate advocates for the prosecution, who attached their names to the charge.

dederit, si quid iniuria suum esset,[1] quod Vestorius
2 teneret. Haec quoque magna nunc contentio forum tenet. M. Servilius, postquam, ut coeperat, omnibus in rebus turbarat, nec, quod non venderet, cuiquam reliquerat, maximaeque nobis traditus erat invidiae, neque Laterensis praetor, postulante Pausania, nobis patronis, QUO EA PECUNIA PERVENISSET, recipere voluit, Q. Pilius, necessarius Attici nostri, de repetundis eum postulavit; magna illico fama surrexit, et de damnatione ferventer loqui est coeptum. Quo vento proicitur Appius minor ut indicaret pecuniam ex bonis patris pervenisse ad Servilium, praevaricationisque causa diceret depositum HS LXXXI. Admi-

[1] si quod iniuriis suis esset *M*: si quid iniuriis suum esset *Hofmann*: si quid iniuria ipsius esset *Wesenberg*.

[a] It would seem that Cicero had enabled Sempronius to borrow money from Vestorius, another banker of Puteoli; but as Sempronius repudiated the debt, Vestorius kept in his hands an equivalent amount of Sempronius's property—an arrangement to which the latter gracefully yielded as a particular favour to Cicero.

[b] This complicated case may be summarized as follows. C. Claudius Pulcher, brother of Appius and Clodius, was proconsul of Asia in 55–54 B.C., and in 51 B.C. was tried for *repetundae*, "extortion," and condemned. Damages were assessed (*lites aestimati*), but, before execution was effected, he seems to have either gone into exile or committed suicide. He had deposited a large sum of money in the hands of Servilius, one of his *legati*, to enable him by bribery to effect a *praevaricatio* — "a mismanagement of the case by collusion of the parties,"—which Servilius failed to do. Pausanias, probably an agent for the provincials of Asia, being convinced of Servilius's guilt, appealed to the praetor Laterensis to prosecute him "for receiving money with intent to defraud" (*quo ea pecunia pervenisset*), but Laterensis held that there was no case, owing to lack of evidence. Upon this Q. Pilius directly charged Servilius with *repetundae*. This brought up Appius, son of C.

in deference to you, very kindly made Vestorius a present of it.[a]

There is now also the following keenly disputed 2
case occupying the courts.[b] M. Servilius, having, consistently with his previous career, made an utter mess of his affairs, and left nothing for anybody but what was for sale, had been handed over to me as a client of the worst possible reputation; but Laterensis, the praetor, in spite of the representations of Pausanias (I being counsel for the defence), refused to take up the inquiry as to "what had become of that money." Then Q. Pilius, a connexion of our friend Atticus, brought an action against Servilius for extortion. That immediately gave rise to a lot of gossip, and people began to talk excitedly about a conviction. This slant of wind casts up Appius the younger, to give evidence that a sum of money out of his father's estate had found its way into Servilius's pocket, and to allege that 81,000 sesterces had been placed in his hands for the purpose of bribing the prosecution. You are surprised at his want of

Claudius, who, in his disgust at Servilius's mismanagement of affairs entrusted to him, gave evidence about the bribe which seriously compromised, not only himself, but his own father. On this evidence Laterensis allowed the case against Servilius to proceed, and the voting being equal, he did not, as he should have done according to law, acquit Servilius, but only recorded the verdicts of the separate orders; and when Appius again appealed he said "he would merely record the facts." Thus Servilius, being neither acquitted nor condemned, is to be handed over to Pilius, to whom Appius had given place, to be dealt with on the charge of *repetundae*. And now Appius himself is being prosecuted for *repetundae* by Servilius and his relations, and at the same time for *vis* ("breach of the peace") by one of his own agents, Sextus Tettius. (The above is a précis of the notes of both Tyrrell and How.)

raris amentiam. Immo si actionem, stultissimasque de
3 se, nefarias de patre confessiones audisses! Mittit in consilium eosdem illos, qui lites aestimarant, iudices. Cum aequo numero sententiae fuissent, Laterensis, leges ignorans, pronuntiavit, quod singuli ordines iudicassent; et ad extremum, ut solent, *non redigam.* Postquam discessit, et pro absoluto Servilius haberi coeptus est, legisque unum et centesimum caput legit, in quo ita erat: QUOD EORUM IUDICUM MAIOR PARS IUDICARIT, ID IUS RATUMQUE ESTO: in tabulas absolutum non rettulit, ordinum iudicia perscripsit; postulante rursus Appio, cum L. Lollio transegit, et se rem relaturum dixit. Sic nunc neque absolutus neque damnatus Servilius de repetundis saucius Pilio tradetur. Nam de divinatione Appius, cum calumniam iurasset, contendere ausus non est, Pilioque cessit; et ipse de pecuniis repetundis a Serviliis est postulatus, et praeterea de vi reus a quodam emissario suo, Sext.
4 Tettio, factus est. Recte hoc par habet. Quod ad rempublicam pertinet, omnino multis diebus, ex-

[a] The Senators, Equites, and Tribuni Aerarii.
[b] Probably a jurisconsult.
[c] "On the preliminary question as to who should be appointed accuser."
[d] Appius and Tettius.

sense; ah, but if you had only heard his pleading and the admissions he made!—admissions most unwise as regards himself, abominable as regards his father.

Well, he calls upon the same jury to consider their 3
verdict as had assessed the damages in the earlier case. When it turned out that the voting was equal, Laterensis, in his ignorance of the laws about it, announced the decision of the three orders[a] taken separately, and ended up with the customary pronouncement "I shall not order the restitution of the money."

When he left the court, however, and Servilius began to be looked upon as acquitted, Laterensis read clause 101 of the law, which ran as follows:

"*The verdict of a majority of the aforesaid jurors shall be final, and judgment be pronounced accordingly.*"

He therefore did not enter him in his register as acquitted, but wrote out the verdict of each separate order. But when Appius renewed his charge, Laterensis, after consultation with L. Lollius,[b] said he would merely report the facts of the case. So now Servilius, being neither acquitted nor condemned, will be handed over to Pilius, with a reputation already badly mauled, to be tried for extortion—to Pilius, for Appius in the formal selection of the accuser,[c] though he had sworn that his was a *bona fide* prosecution, did not venture to fight the matter, and retired in favour of Pilius. And now he himself has been charged with extortion by the Servilii, and has, moreover, been had up for a breach of the peace by a certain spy of his own, one Sextus Tettius. A pretty pair, those two.[d]

As far as politics are concerned, absolutely nothing 4
has been done for many days past, because people

spectatione Galliarum, actum nihil est. Aliquando tamen saepe re dilata et graviter acta et plane perspecta Cn. Pompei voluntate in eam partem, ut eum decedere post Kalendas Martias placeret, senatus consultum, quod tibi misi, factum est auctoritatesque perscriptae.

5 *S. C. Auctoritates. Pridie Kal. Octob. in aede Apollinis scrib. adfuerunt L. Domitius, Cn. F. Fab. Ahenobarbus; Q. Caecilius, Q. F. Fab. Metellus Pius Scipio; L. Villius L. F. Pompt. Annalis; C. Septimius, T. F. Quirina; C. Lucilius C. F. Pup. Hirrus; C. Scribonius, C. F. Pop. Curio; L. Ateius L. F. An. Capito; M. Eppius M. F. Terentina. Quod M. Marcellus consul v. f. de provinciis consularibus, d. e. r. i. c. uti L. Paullus, C. Marcellus consules, cum magistratum inissent, ex a. d. X. Kal. Mart., quae in suo magistratu futurae essent, de consularibus provinciis ad senatum referrent, neve quid*

[a] A *senatus auctoritas* was a motion carried by the Senate, but vetoed by a tribune (*cf.* i. 2. 4).

[b] I am indebted for this lucid tabulation to the Rev. G. E. Jeans.

[c] v. f. = *verba fecit.*

[d] d. e. r. i. c. = *de ea re ita censuerunt.*

[e] Provinces requiring an army were usually entrusted to a proconsul and called *consulares*, peaceful provinces to a propraetor, and called *praetoriae.*

are waiting to see what happens about the Gallic provinces. At last, however, after several postponements, and grave discussions, and when it had been definitely ascertained that Pompey's inclinations were in the direction of having a decree passed that Caesar should quit his province after the 1st of March, a decree of the Senate was passed which I send you, and the following resolutions[a] were entered on the minutes.

Decree of the Senate. Resolutions. The 29th day of September, in the temple of Apollo. Present at the drafting of the decree: 5

Name.	*Father's name.*	*Tribe.*
Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus	Gnaeus	Fabia.
Quintus Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio	Quintus	Fabia.
Lucius Villius Annalis	Lucius	Pomptina.
Gaius Septimius	Titus	Quirina.
Gaius Lucilius Hirrus	Gaius	Pupinia.
Gaius Scribonius Curio	Gaius	Popilia.
Lucius Ateius Capito	Lucius	Aniensis.
Marcus Eppius	Marcus	Terentina.[b]

Whereas the consul Marcus Marcellus has opened the question[c] of the provinces to be assigned to consulars, the Senate voted on that question as follows:[d]

"Lucius Paullus and Gaius Marcellus, the consuls, when they have entered on their offices, after the 19th day of the month of February that shall fall within their year of office, shall bring the matter of the consular[e] provinces before the Senate and shall not

prius ex Kalendis Mart. neve quid coniunctim de ea re referretur a consulibus, utique eius rei causa per dies comitiales senatum haberent, Senatusque Cons. facerent, et, cum de ea re ad senatum referretur a consulibus, qui eorum in CCC iudicibus essent, sex adducere liceret. Si quid de ea re ad populum ad plebemve lato opus esset, uti Ser. Sulpicius M. Marcellus Coss. praetores, tribunique plebis, quibus eorum videretur, ad populum plebemve referrent: quod si ii non tulissent, uti, quicumque deinceps essent, ad populum plebemve ferrent. I. N.

6 *Prid. Kalend. Octob. in aede Apollinis, scrib. adfuerunt L. Domitius, Cn. F. Fab. Ahenobarbus; Q. Caecilius Q. F. Fab. Metellus Pius Scipio; L. Villius, L. F. Pompt. Annalis; C. Septimius T. F. Quirina; C. Lucilius C. F. Pup. Hirrus, C. Scribonius, C. F. Pop. Curio, L. Ateius L. F. An. Capito; M. Eppius M. F. Terentina. Quod M. Marcellus Cos. v. f. de provinciis, d. e. r. i. c. senatum existimare neminem eorum, qui*

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[a] According to the Lex Pupia it was not customary to hold a Senate on days on which *comitia* could be held (*cf.* i. 4. 1).

[b] This would be about half the Senate. Strachan-Davidson, *Problems of Roman Criminal Law*, ii. p. 76, makes the number 400.

[c] *i.e.*, "before the *comitia centuriata* or *tributa*."

[d] I. N. = *Intercessit nemo*, "no tribune intervened with a veto."

after the first of March give precedence to any other motion, nor shall any other motion be brought before the Senate in combination with that motion; and they shall hold a meeting of the Senate for that purpose, on comitial days [a] as on any other, and pass a decree of the Senate. And when that matter is being brought before the Senate by the consuls, then it shall be lawful to call in such of the Senators as are on the roll of the 300 [b] jurors without their incurring a penalty. If it be necessary to bring that matter before the people or plebs,[c] that Servius Sulpicius and Marcus Marcellus, the present consuls, with praetors and the tribunes of the plebs, to whomsoever of them it seems good, shall bring it before the people or plebs. But if the aforesaid have not so brought it, that their successors in their several offices shall so bring it before the people or plebs." No veto was recorded.[d]

The 30th day of September, in the Temple of Apollo. 6
Present at the drafting of the decree:

Name.	*Father's name.*	*Tribe.*
Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus	Gnaeus	Fabia.
Quintus Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio	Quintus	Fabia.
Lucius Villius Annalis	Lucius	Pomptina.
Gaius Septimius	Titus	Quirina.
Gaius Lucilius Hirrus	Gaius	Pupinia.
Gaius Scribonius Curio	Gaius	Popilia.
Lucius Ateius Capito	Lucius	Aniensis
Marcus Eppius	Marcus	Terentina.

Whereas Marcus Marcellus, the consul, has opened the question of the provinces, on that matter the Senators have voted as follows: "That in the

potestatem habeant intercedendi impediendi moram afferre oportere, quo minus de r. p. p. r. q. p. ad senatum referri, senatique consultum fieri possit. Qui impedierit prohibuerit, eum senatum existimare contra rempublicam fecisse. Si quis huic s. c. intercesserit, senatui placere auctoritatem perscribi et de ea re p. q. t. ad senatum populumque referri.

Huic s. c. intercessit C. Caelius, L. Vinicius, P. Cornelius, C. Vibius Pansa (trib. pl.).

7 *Item senatui placere, de militibus, qui in exercitu C. Caesaris sunt, qui eorum stipendia emerita aut causas, quibus de causis missi fieri debeant, habeant, ad hunc ordinem referri, ut eorum ratio habeatur, causaeque cognoscantur. Si quis huic s. c. intercesserit, senatui placere auctoritatem perscribi, et de ea re ad senatum p. q. t. referri.*

Huic s. c. intercessit C. Caelius, C. Pansa, tribuni plebis.

8 *Itemque senatui placere, in Ciliciam provinciam, in octo reliquas provincias, quas praetorii pro praetore obtinerent, eos, qui praetores fuerunt neque in provincia*

[a] r. p. p. r. q. p. = *republica populi Romani quam primum.*
[b] p. q. t. = *primo quoque tempore.*
[c] The object of this was to draw away from Caesar as many of his soldiers as possible.
[d] These were: (1) Sicily, (2) Sardinia and Corsica, (3) Macedonia and Achaia, (4) Asia, (5) Africa, (6) Crete, (7) Cyrene, (8) Bithynia.

opinion of the Senate it is inexpedient that any of those who have the right of veto or of obstruction should cause any such delay as could prevent a motion being brought before the Senate concerning the Republic at the earliest opportunity,[a] or a decree being passed thereon. That in the opinion of the Senate, the man who so obstructs or forbids the debate, has acted against the interests of the Republic. That if anyone shall veto this decree of the Senate, it is the pleasure of the Senate that a resolution to the same effect shall be drafted at the earliest opportunity[b] and the matter brought before the Senate and the people."

The above decree was vetoed by Gaius Caelius, Lucius Vinicius, Publius Cornelius, and Gaius Vibius Pansa, tribunes of the plebs.

"That it is further resolved by the Senate in reference to the soldiers now in the army of Gaius Caesar, that those of them who have served their full time, or have pleas to advance, which pleas would entitle them to a discharge, shall have their cases brought before the Senate in order that they may be severally considered and their pleas investigated.[c] That, if anyone shall veto this decree of the Senate, it is the pleasure of the Senate that a resolution to the same effect shall be drafted, and the matter brought before the Senate and the people at the earliest opportunity." 7

The above decree was vetoed by Gaius Caelius and Gaius Pansa, tribunes of the plebs.

"Also it is resolved that in regard to the province of Cilicia and the eight remaining provinces[d] administered by ex-praetors as praetors, those who have been praetors but have not been in a province with imperial power, such of them, to wit, as have a 8

cum imperio fuerunt, quos eorum ex s. c. cum imperio in provincias pro praetore mitti oporteret, eos sortito in provincias mitti placere. Si ex eo numero, quos ex s.c. in provincias ire oporteret, ad numerum non essent, qui in eas provincias proficiscerentur, tum, uti quodque collegium primum praetorum fuisset, neque in provincias profecti essent, ita sorte in provinciam proficiscerentur. Si ii ad numerum non essent, tunc deinceps proximi cuiusque collegi, qui praetores fuissent, neque in provincias profecti essent, in sortem conicerentur, quoad is numerus effectus esset, quem ad numerum in provincias mitti oporteret. Si quis huic s. c. intercessisset, auctoritas perscriberetur.

Huic senatus consulto intercessit C. Caelius, C.
9 Pansa, tribuni plebis. Illa praeterea Cn. Pompei sunt animadversa, quae maxime confidentiam attulerunt hominibus, ut diceret se ante Kalend. Mart. non posse sine iniuria de provinciis Caesaris statuere, post Kal. Mart. se non dubitaturum. Cum interrogaretur, si qui tum intercederent, dixit hoc nihil interesse, utrum C. Caesar senatui dicto audiens futurus non esset, an pararet qui senatum decernere non pateretur. Quid si, inquit alius, et consul esse, et exercitum habere volet? At ille, quam clementer! Quid si filius meus fustem mihi impingere volet? His vocibus, ut existimarent homines, Pompeio cum Caesare esse

claim, according to the decree of the Senate, to be sent to provinces as praetors with imperial power, should be sent to those provinces by lot. If on the list of those who have a claim to go to provinces according to the decree of the Senate, there are not enough to proceed to those provinces, in that case, as each college of praetors, the members of which have not proceeded to provinces, can claim priority, according to that order praetors should proceed to a province by lot. Should they fail to reach the necessary number, then out of each college, as it came next, the names of such as had been praetors, but had not proceeded to provinces, should be cast into the lottery until the number of them is made to tally with the number of those required to be sent into the provinces.

"That should anyone veto the decree of the Senate, a resolution to the same effect should be drafted."

The above decree of the Senate was vetoed by Gaius Caelius and Gaius Pansa, tribunes of the plebs.

The following remarks, moreover, of Cn. Pompeius 9
attracted attention and gave people the greatest confidence, when he stated that he could not with any justice decide about Caesar's provinces before 1st of March, but that after that date he would not hesitate to act. When he was asked "What if there were any vetoes interposed on that day?" he replied that "It made no difference whether Caesar was going to refuse to obey the Senate, or whether he would put up someone to obstruct its decrees." "What if he is minded," asked somebody else, "to be consul and keep his army at the same time?" and he replied with the utmost suavity, "What if my own son should be minded to lay his stick across my shoulders?" By such expressions he had led people to suspect that

negotium, effecit. Itaque iam, ut video, alteram utram ad conditionem descendere vult Caesar, ut aut maneat, neque hoc anno sua ratio habeatur, aut, si designari poterit, decedat. Curio se contra eum totum parat. Quid assequi possit, nescio. Illud video, bene sentientem, etsi nihil effecerit, cadere non posse. Me tractat liberaliter Curio, et mihi suo munere negotium imposuit. Nam si mihi non dedisset eas, quae ad ludos ei advectae erant Africanae, potuit supersederi. Nunc, quoniam dare necesse est, velim tibi curae sit, quod a te semper petii, ut aliquid istinc bestiarum habeamus; Sittianamque syngrapham tibi commendo. Libertum Philonem istuc misi, et Diogenem Graecum, quibus mandata et litteras ad te dedi. Eos tibi et rem, de qua misi, velim curae habeas. Nam quam vehementer ad me pertineat, in iis, quas tibi illi reddent, litteris descripsi.

IX

CAELIUS CICERONI S.

Romae, A.U.C. 703.

1 Sic tu, inquis, Hirrum tractasti? Immo, si scias quam facile, quam ne contentionis quidem mi-

[a] In Caelius's eyes Curio's panthers were so many "white elephants." For the panthers see *Epp.* 2. 2, 4. 5, and 6. 5, in this Book. It should be noticed that this letter was written some weeks before the last, which was written late in October.

there is some trouble between him and Caesar. So now, as far as I can see, Caesar means to have recourse to one or other of these alternatives—either to remain in Gaul, so that his candidature may not be considered this year, or else, if he can carry his election, to quit his province.

Curio is preparing to attack him tooth and nail; with what prospect of success I know not. This I do see, that a man of sound views, though he may accomplish nothing, cannot be a complete failure.

For myself, Curio treats me generously, and by his bounty has put a burden on my back; for had he not made me a present of the wild beasts [a] which had been shipped to him from Africa for his games, my games might have been altogether dispensed with; as it is, since give them I must, I should be glad if you would take the trouble—I have been perpetually asking you this favour—to let me have something in the way of beasts from where you are. I also commend to your notice the bond held by Sittius. I send you my freedman Philo, and Diogenes, a Greek, and I have given them commissions and a letter for you. Pray give them, and the business I sent them on, your kind attention. For I have explained in the letter they will deliver to you, how vitally it concerns me.

IX

CAELIUS TO CICERO

Rome, September 2, 51 B.C.

"Is that the way you have treated Hirrus?" you 1
say. Well, if you only knew how easy it was, how not

nimae fuerit, pudeat te ausum illum umquam esse incedere tamquam tuum competitorem. Post repulsam vero risus facit; civem bonum ludit, et contra Caesarem sententias dicit; exspectationem corripit; Curionem prorsus non mediocriter obiurgat; hac repulsa se mutavit. Praeterea qui numquam in foro apparuerit, non multum in iudiciis versatus sit, agit
2 causas liberales, sed raro post meridiem. De provinciis, quod tibi scripseram Idibus Sextil. actum iri, interpellat iudicium Marcelli, consulis designati. In Kalend. reiecta re, ne frequentiam quidem efficere potuerant. Has litteras a. d. IV. Non. Septembr. dedi, cum ad eam diem ne profligatum quidem quidquam erat. Ut video, causa haec integra in proximum annum transferetur; et, quantum divino, relinquendus tibi erit, qui provinciam obtineat. Nam non expeditur successio, quando Galliae, quae habent intercessorem, in eamdem condicionem quam ceterae provinciae vocantur. Hoc mihi non est dubium. Quo tibi magis scripsi, ut ad hunc eventum te parares.
3 Fere litteris omnibus tibi de pantheris scripsi. Turpe tibi erit Patiscum Curioni decem pantheras misisse, te non multis partibus plures; quas ipsas Curio

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[a] *i.e.*, for the vacancy in the College of Augurs.
[b] *i.e.*, about Caesar's provinces. Boot takes the words to mean "diminishes the expectation of the provinces being assigned to Caesar."
[c] Marcus Marcellus, consul in 50, accused this year by Calidius of *ambitus*.
[d] See note *a* to § 10 of the preceding Letter.

even the slightest effort was required, you would be ashamed that he ever had the audacity to strut about as your rival candidate.[a] Now that he has been rejected, however, he keeps on smiling, plays the patriotic citizen, and regularly records his votes against Caesar; he strongly condemns the suspense[b]; Curio he does not hesitate to censure in no measured terms; indeed, his rejection has made him change his ways. Besides, though he has never appeared in the forum, and has not been much engaged in the law-courts, he now takes up the cases of slaves who want their freedom; but he seldom works after mid-day.

As to the provinces, I wrote and told you that the 2
matter would be decided on August 13th; well, an interruption has been caused by the trial of Marcellus,[c] the consul elect. The matter was adjourned to September 1st, but on neither occasion did they succeed in getting even a quorum. I send this letter on September 2nd, and even up to to-day no real progress has been made. As I see it, this question will not be opened, but passed on to next year; and as far as I can foretell, you will have to leave somebody behind you to administer the province. For the question of your succession is not being simplified, since the Gallic provinces, the assignment of which is being vetoed, are being brought into the same category as all the other provinces. Of this I have no doubt, and it gives me more reason for writing, so that you might prepare yourself for this issue.

In almost all my letters to you I have mentioned 3
the panthers.[d] That Patiscus has sent Curio ten panthers and that you should have failed to send ever so many more, will reflect no credit upon you.

mihi, et alias Africanas decem donavit, ne putes illum tantum praedia rustica dare scire. Tu, si modo memoria tenueris, et Cibyratas arcessieris, itemque in Pamphyliam litteras miseris (nam ibi plures capi aiunt), quod voles efficies. Hoc vehementius laboro nunc, quod seorsum a collega puto mihi omnia paranda. Amabo te, impera tibi hoc. Curare soles libenter, ut ego maiorem partem nihil curare. In hoc negotio nulla tua, nisi loquendi, cura est, hoc est imperandi et mandandi. Nam simul atque erunt captae, qui alant eas et deportent, habes eos, quos ad Sittianam syngrapham misi. Puto etiam, si ullam spem mihi litteris ostenderis, me isto missurum alios.
4 M. Feridium, equitem Romanum, amici mei filium, bonum et strenuum adulescentem, qui ad suum negotium istuc venit, tibi commendo, et te rogo, ut eum in tuorum numero habeas. Agros, quos fructuarios habent civitates, vult tuo beneficio, quod tibi facile et honestum factu est, immunes esse; gratos et bonos
5 viros tibi obligaris. Nolo te putare Favonium a columnariis praeteritum esse; optimus quisque eum

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[a] "This probably refers to some gift of a country place by the extravagant Curio, of which we have no record." Tyrrell.

[b] Municipalities often owned such property, even in distant countries. Some Italian town, for which Feridius was probably acting as agent, owned such land in Cilicia.

[c] A candidate for the praetorship this year. He was an imitator of Cato—"ille Catonis aemulus," Suet. *Aug.* 13. "Cato's Sancho," Mommsen, *R.H.* iv. 315.

[d] Probably loafers round the *columnae*, the pillars in the forum.

Curio has made me a present of that same ten, and another ten from Africa; so you must not think that landed estates are the only gifts he knows how to bestow.[a] If you only remember to do so, and send for some hunters from Cibyra, and also write a letter of instructions to Pamphylia (for they tell me that more of them are caught there), you will accomplish all you want. My anxiety on this point is all the greater now, because I expect that I shall have to provide everything myself, quite apart from my colleague. For love's sake, lay this charge upon yourself. You are usually as fond of taking trouble, as I for the most part am of taking none. In this matter you will have no trouble except to say a few words—that is, to give orders and instructions. For as soon as the animals are caught, you have the men I sent to deal with Sittius's bond available to feed them and see to their being shipped to Rome. I also think, that, if you hold out any hopes to me in your letter, I shall send some more men over to you.

There is one Marcus Feridius, a Roman knight, the 4
son of a friend of mine, a young man of merit and energy, who has arrived in your province on business of his own; I strongly commend him to you, and beg you to put his name on your list of friends. He desires that the lands which certain municipalities hold as a means of profit,[b] should, by an act of kindness as easy as it is honourable for you to perform, be exempted from taxation. You will find you have laid under an obligation to you men who are grateful as well as good.

I should not like to think that Favonius[c] was re- 5
jected by the corner-men[d] only; no, all the best men refused to vote for him.

non fecit. Pompeius tuus aperte Caesarem vetat et provinciam tenere cum exercitu et consulem esse. Tamen hanc sententiam dixit, nullum hoc tempore senatusconsultum faciendum; Scipio hanc, ut Kalend. Martiis de provinciis Galliis, neu quid coniunctim referretur. Contristavit haec sententia Balbum Cornelium et scio, eum questum esse cum Scipione. Calidius in defensione sua fuit disertissimus, in accusatione satis frigidus.

X

CAELIUS CICERONI S.

Romae, A.U.C. 703.

1 Sanequam litteris C. Cassi et Deiotari sumus commoti. Nam Cassius cis Euphraten copias Parthorum esse scripsit; Deiotarus, profectas per Commagenem in provinciam nostram. Ego quidem praecipuum metum, quod ad te attinebat, habui, qui scirem quam paratus ab exercitu esses, ne quod hic tumultus dignitati tuae periculum afferret. Nam de vita, si paratior ab exercitu esses, timuissem; nunc haec exiguitas copiarum recessum, non dimicationem mihi tuam praesagiebat. Hoc quomodo acciperent

[a] When the *praenomen* is left out, Cicero almost always puts the *cognomen* before the *nomen*, as here; *cf.* Gallus Caninius, Ahala Servilius, Vespa Terentius. Cornelius Balbus was Caesar's great friend (see ix. 17. 1, and 19. 1).

[b] When accused by the two Gallii (see note on viii. 4. 1).

[c] When he himself accused Claudius Marcellus (see note on § 2). In *frigidus* there is a jesting reference to his name Calidius (from *calidus*). The *fervid* advocate was *frigid*.

[d] He means that, in that case, Cicero would not hesitate to fight, and would therefore be slain.

Your friend Pompey makes no secret of demurring to Caesar's holding a province with an army and being consul at the same time. What he moved in the Senate, however, was that no decree should be passed at the present juncture; what Scipio moved was, that the matter of the Gallic provinces should be brought before the Senate on the 1st of March, but that no other matter should be combined with it—a motion which made Balbus Cornelius [a] quite unhappy, and I know that he expostulated with Scipio.

Calidius was most eloquent in his own defence,[b] but feeble enough as a prosecutor.[c]

X

CAELIUS TO CICERO

Rome, November 17, 51 B.C.

I am greatly agitated by the despatches of 1
C. Cassius and Deiotarus; for Cassius writes to say that the Parthian forces are on this side of the Euphrates, and Deiotarus that they have advanced through Commagene into our province. For my own part, being aware of your unpreparedness in the matter of your army, my special apprehension as regards yourself is that this sudden rising will imperil your prestige. For were you better prepared in respect of your army, I should fear for your life;[d] as it is, the present numerical weakness of your forces fills me with foreboding, not of an engagement, but of a retreat, on your part. How the public would accept the latter decision,

homines, quam probabilis necessitas futura esset, vereor etiam nunc; neque prius desinam formidare, quam tetigisse te Italiam audiero.

2 Sed de Parthorum transitu nuntii varios sermones excitarunt. Alius enim Pompeium mittendum, alius ab Urbe Pompeium non removendum, alius Caesarem cum suo exercitu, alius consules, nemo tamen ex senatus consulto privatos. Consules autem, quia verentur, ne illud senatus consultum fiat, ut paludati exeant, et contumeliose praeter eos[1] ad alium res transferatur, omnino senatum haberi nolunt, usque eo ut parum diligentes in republica videantur; sed honeste, sive neglegentia, sive inertia est, sive ille, quem proposui, metus, latet sub hac temperantiae existimatione nolle provinciam. A te litterae non venerunt, et, nisi Deiotari subsecutae essent, in eam opinionem Cassius veniebat, quae diripuisset ipse, ut viderentur ab hoste vastata, finxisse bellum et Arabas in provinciam immisisse eosque Parthos esse senatui renuntiasse. Quare tibi suadeo, quicumque est istic status rerum, diligenter et caute perscribas, ne aut

[1] *Cobet, suspecting* eos *where* se *would be more usual, suggests* praeter os, "*before their faces*"; *but Lebreton quotes several similar instances from Cicero himself.*

[a] *i.e.*, the pretence that they did not want to go because they had no greedy ambition for military honours.

and how far the necessity for it would be taken as a sufficient justification, as to that I have my misgivings even now, and shall never cease to have a feeling of dread, until I am told that you have landed in Italy.

But the reports about the crossing of the Parthians 2 have given rise to all sorts of suggestions. One man would send Pompey; another would not have Pompey withdrawn from the city; another would send Caesar in command of his own army, another the consuls; no one, however, would have anybody, not holding public office, sent by a decree of the Senate. Now the consuls, because they are afraid of such a decree of the Senate being passed as would lead to their leaving Rome in uniform as military commanders, and to the subsequent ignominy of having the commission transferred over their heads to someone else, are altogether opposed to the holding of a Senate, so much so, indeed, as to convey the impression that they are not as energetic as they should be in their public duties. But candidly, whether it be negligence or indolence, or that apprehension I have already indicated, beneath all this affectation of unselfishness[a] there lurks a decided disinclination to accept a province.

No despatch has arrived from you, and had not Deiotarus's despatch immediately followed his, there was a growing suspicion that Cassius, in order that his own depredations might pass as the devastations of the enemy, had arranged a sham war, let loose a horde of Arabs into his province, and reported these to the Senate as being Parthians.

And that is why I urge you, whatever be the position of affairs in your province, to be careful and cautious in your drafted report of it, lest it be said of you

velificatus alicui dicaris aut aliquid, quod referret
3 scire, reticuisse. Nunc exitus est anni; nam ego has litteras a. d. xiv. Kal. Decemb. scripsi. Plane nihil video ante Kal. Januar. agi posse. Nosti Marcellum, quam tardus et parum efficax sit, itemque Servius, quam cunctator. Cuiusmodi putas hos esse, aut quam id, quod nolint, conficere posse, qui, quae cupiunt, tamen ita frigide agunt, ut nolle existimentur? Novis magistratibus autem, si Parthicum bellum erit, haec causa primos menses occupabit. Sin autem non erit istic bellum, aut tantum erit, ut vos aut successores, parvis additis copiis, sustinere possint, Curionem video se dupliciter iactaturum; primum, ut aliquid Caesari adimat, inde ut aliquid Pompeio tribuat, quodvis quamlibet tenue munusculum. Paullus porro non humane de provincia loquitur. Huius cupiditati occursurus est Furnius
4 noster; plures suspicari non possum. Haec novi. Alia, quae possunt accidere, non cerno. Multa tempus afferre et praeparata mutare scio. Sed intra fines hos, quaecumque acciderint, vertentur. Illud addo ad actiones C. Curionis, de agro Campano; de quo negant Caesarem laborare, sed Pompeium valde
5 nolle, ne vacuus advenienti Caesari pateat. Quod ad tuum decessum attinet, illud tibi non possum

[a] Or "wafted him on his way," the converse being our "to take the wind out of a man's sails." Tyrrell.

[b] The consuls for 51 B.C. See Chron. Sum.

[c] Cicero and Cassius.

[d] Aemilius Paullus, consul with C. Marcellus, in 50 B.C. According to Mommsen, Paullus, in defiance of Pompey's law about a five years' interval, was violently asserting that he would claim a province (presumably Cilicia) immediately after his consulship. His ill-balanced judgment (of which Curio made capital) is mentioned in § 1 of the next letter.

[e] A friend of Cicero's. See x. 25.

that you either puffed out somebody's sails for him,[a] or held back something which it was important to know.

It is now the close of the year; for I am writing 3
this letter on the 17th of November. I clearly see that nothing can be done before January 1st. You know Marcellus,[b]—how slow and inefficient he is, and also how dilatory Servius is.[b] What manner of men do you take them to be, or how do you think they can do what they don't like, when they are so lukewarm in dealing with what they do desire as to be suspected of not liking it? Now under the new magistrates, if there is a Parthian war, their first months will be taken up with that. If on the other hand there is no war where you are, or only such a war as you two,[c] or your successors, with some slight reinforcements, can maintain, I foresee that Curio will bluster with a double purpose, first, to take something away from Caesar, and secondly, to bestow something upon Pompey—any little *douceur* you please, however trifling. Paullus,[d] moreover, talks wildly about getting a province. Greedy as he is, he is likely to find his match in our friend Furnius[e]; I cannot conceive any others opposing him.

What I have written, I know; there are other 4
possibilities, but I have no clear view of them. Time, I know, is bringing many changes and upsetting plans already made; but whatever be the play of chance, it will be within these limits. This, too, I must add to Curio's transactions—his scheme for the Campanian land. They say that Caesar does not trouble about it, but that Pompey strongly objects to it, on the grounds that if it is unoccupied, Caesar will have a free hand with it when he comes.

As regards your retirement, I cannot promise you 5

polliceri, me curaturum ut tibi succedatur; illud certe praestabo, ne amplius prorogetur. Tui consili est, si tempus, si senatus coget, si honeste a nobis recusari non poterit, velisne perseverare; mei offici est meminisse, qua obtestatione decedens mihi, ne paterer fieri, mandaris.

XI

CAELIUS CICERONI S.

Romae, A.U.C. 704.

1 Non diu, sed acriter nos tuae supplicationes torserunt. Incideramus enim in difficilem nodum. Nam Curio tui cupidissimus, cui omnibus rationibus comitiales dies eripiebantur, negabat se ullo modo pati posse decerni supplicationes, ne, quod furore Paulli adeptus esset boni, sua culpa videretur amisisse, et praevaricator causae publicae existimaretur. Itaque ad pactionem descendimus, et confirmarunt consules se his supplicationibus in hunc annum non usuros. Plane quod utrisque consulibus gratias agas est; Paullo magis certe. Nam Marcellus sic respondit se spem in istis supplicationibus non habere,

[a] Cicero had written to the Senate in April, asking for a *supplicatio* (a public thanksgiving, generally followed by a triumph) in honour of his achievements on the Amanus.

[b] The number of days during which the elections (*comitia*) could be held was of supreme importance to Curio at this juncture. Any appropriation of them for other purposes, *e.g.* for religious observances (such as Paullus was urging) or the celebration of a *supplicatio*, by subtracting from their number, would diminish Curio's opportunities of "pulling the political wires" in view of the approaching debate on the Provinces.

[c] Which gave Curio an excuse for public declamation.

to arrange for your getting a successor; what I will certainly guarantee is that there will be no further extension of your tenure of office. Whether, if circumstances or the Senate constrain you to stay on, if we cannot consistently with honour decline, you still wish to persist in your objection, that is for you to decide; for me it is a matter of duty to bear in mind the solemn earnestness with which, on leaving Rome, you charged me not to permit that extension to be carried.

XI

CAELIUS TO CICERO

Rome, April, 50 B.C.

The pain your *supplicationes* [a] have caused me 1
was not prolonged but acute. For we tumbled into a tangle hard to unravel. Curio, who is extremely fond of you, finding that he was being robbed of his comitial days [b] by every sort of device, declared that he could not possibly allow the *supplicationes* to be decreed, lest he should be thought to have lost through his own fault whatever advantage he had gained by the crazy conduct of Paullus,[c] and be considered guilty of betraying the public interests by collusion with the opposition. So we had recourse to a compromise, and the consuls formally announced that they would not celebrate these *supplicationes* this year. It is obvious that you have reason to thank both consuls, but Paullus certainly most. For while Marcellus merely replied that he had no hope in the efficacy [d] of your *supplicationes*, Paullus said

[d] As a means of thwarting Curio by encroaching upon the *comitiales dies*.

Paullus se omnino in hunc annum non edicturum.
2 Renuntiatum nobis erat Hirrum diutius dicturum; prendimus eum; non modo non fecit, sed, cum de hostiis ageretur, et posset rem impedire, si ut numerarentur postularet, tacuit. Tantum Catoni assensus est, qui de te locutus honorifice, non decrerat supplicationes. Tertius ad hos Favonius accessit. Quare pro cuiusque natura et instituto gratiae sunt agendae; his, quod tantum voluntatem ostenderunt pro sententia, cum impedire possent, non pugnarunt; Curioni vero, quod de suarum actionum cursu tua causa deflexit. Nam Furnius et Lentulus, ut debuerunt, quasi eorum[1] res esset, una nobiscum circumierunt et laborarunt. Balbi quoque Corneli operam et sedulitatem laudare possum. Nam cum Curione vehementer locutus est, et eum, si aliter fecisset, iniuriam Caesari facturum dixit: tum eius fidem in suspicionem adduxit. Decrerant quidem, neque[2] transigi volebant Domitii, Scipiones; quibus hac re ad intercessionem evocandam interpellantibus, venustissime Curio respondit se eo libentius non

[1] *We should have expected* sua, *but see note* 1, *p.* 150.
[2] quidem, neque *Lehmann and Madvig*; quidem, qui inique *M.*

[a] Thus definitely implying their proclamation in the future, which Marcellus did not imply.
[b] *i.e.*, "button-holed" him.
[c] To be sacrificed at the *supplicatio*; for though it was not to be given this year, the preliminaries might be settled now, so that all might be ready when the time came.
[d] See note on viii. 9. 5. The three were Hirrus, Cato, and Favonius.
[e] A tribune of the plebs devoted to Cicero.
[f] Than by coming to a compromise.
[g] As a friend of Cicero (Tyrrell). But more probably, as Manutius and Graevius take it, "as a friend of Caesar" who was now warmly attached to Cicero.

that in no circumstances would he proclaim them *this*[a] year.

It has been reported to me that Hirrus intended to 2
talk the measure out; I got hold of him;[b] not only did he refrain from doing so, but when the question of the victims[c] was being discussed, and he might have obstructed the proceedings if he had demanded a count out, he held his tongue. He merely concurred with Cato who, though he spoke of you in complimentary terms, did not vote for the *supplicationes*. The addition of Favonius[d] made three of them. You must, therefore, thank them all according to their several dispositions and principles—these three for having merely indicated their inclinations instead of expressing them in a set speech, and for not having put up a fight when they might have obstructed matters; but Curio for having deviated for your sake from his whole line of action. Furnius[e] and Lentulus, of course, as indeed they were bound to do, went about with me and worked hard, just as if it were their own affair. I can also speak highly of Cornelius Balbus's assiduous efforts. For he had a heated interview with Curio, telling him that had he acted otherwise,[f] he would have wronged Caesar; and it was then he threw suspicion on Curio's sincerity.[g] Men like Domitius[h] and Scipio certainly voted for the measure, but had no desire that it should pass; and when they interrupted the discussion of the matter for the purpose of provoking his veto, Curio very neatly retorted that he had all

[h] L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, the staunch aristocrat, consul in 54 B.C. with Appius Claudius Pulcher.

intercedere, quod quosdam, qui decernerent, videret
3 confici nolle. Quod ad rempublicam attinet, in unam causam omnis contentio coniecta est, de provinciis; in quam adhuc incubuisse cum senatu Pompeius videtur, ut Caesar Id. Novemb. decedat. Curio omnia potius subire constituit quam id pati. Ceteras suas abiecit actiones. Nostri porro, quos tu bene nosti, ad extremum certamen rem deducere non audent. Scena rei totius haec: Pompeius, tamquam Caesarem non impugnet, sed, quod illi aequum putet, constituat, ait Curionem quaerere discordias. Valde autem non vult, et plane timet, Caesarem consulem designari prius quam exercitum et provinciam tradiderit. Accipitur satis male a Curione, et totus eius secundus consulatus exagitatur. Hoc tibi dico, si omnibus rebus prement Curionem, Caesar defendet intercessorem; si[1] (quod evidenter) reformidarint,
4 Caesar quoad volet manebit. Quam quisque sententiam dixerit, in commentario est rerum urbanarum; ex quo tu, quae digna sunt, selige. Multa transi, in primis ludorum expositiones,[2] et funerum, et ineptiarum ceterarum. Plura habet utilia. Denique malo in hanc partem errare, ut quae non desideras audias, quam quidquam, quod opus est, praetermittatur.

[1] *Tyrrell, following Wesenberg*: defendetur; intercessorum si *M.*
[2] *Tyrrell*: explosiones *MSS.*

[a] In 55 B.C., when he and Crassus proposed the bill for prolonging Caesar's command for five years.

the more pleasure in withholding his veto, because he observed that certain persons who voted for the measure had no desire that it should be carried.

As far as general politics are concerned, all con- 3
troversy is concentrated upon one question—that of the provinces. And on that question Pompey appears so far to have thrown his weight on the side of the Senate, to the effect that Caesar should quit his province on November 13th. Curio is determined to submit to anything rather than allow this. All his former schemes he has flung to the winds. Our friends of course—you know them well—shrink from bringing the matter to a crisis. The whole situation is staged as follows: Pompey, as if he were not attacking Caesar, but making an arrangement which he considers fair to him, says that Curio is seeking excuses for discord. But he emphatically does not desire, and is evidently afraid of, Caesar's being elected consul-designate before he has handed over his army and his province. He is being treated harshly enough, and the whole of his second consulship [a] fiercely impugned by Curio. I tell you this much; if they try to crush Curio in every respect, Caesar will defend his power of veto; if (and it looks like it) they are too much afraid to do so, Caesar will stay on as long as he pleases.

How each has voted, you will find in my memor- 4
anda of affairs in the city; and you must pick out of them what is noteworthy. There is much which you must skip, especially the detailed accounts of the games and funerals, and all the rest of the tittle-tattle. But the great part is useful. In fact I had rather err in the direction of telling you what you don't desire to know, than that of passing anything that is essential. I

Tibi curae fuisse de Sittiano negotio, gaudeo. Sed, quoniam suspicaris minus certa fide eos, quos tibi misi, usos,[1] tamquam procurator, sic agas rogo.

XII

CAELIUS CICERONI S.

Romae, A.U.C. 704.

1 Pudet me tibi confiteri, et queri de Appi, hominis ingratissimi, iniuriis, qui me odisse, quia magna mihi debebat beneficia, coepit; et, cum homo avarus, ut ea solveret, sibi imperare non posset, occultum bellum mihi indixit; ita occultum tamen, ut multi mihi renuntiarent, et ipse facile animadverterem male eum de me cogitare. Posteaquam vero comperi eum collegium tentasse, deinde aperte cum quibusdam locutum, cum L. Domitio, ut nunc est, mihi inimicissimo homine, deliberare, velle hoc munusculum deferre Cn. Pompeio, ipsum ut prenderem,[2] et ab eo deprecarer iniuriam, quem vitam mihi debere
2 putaram, impetrare a me non potui. Quid ergo est? Tamen quidem cum eius aliquot amicis, qui testes erant meorum in illum meritorum, locutus sum. Posteaquam illum, ne cui satisfaceret quidem me dignum

[1] *Klotz*: fide eos tibi visos *M*.
[2] *Tyrrell reads* reprenderem, "*to remonstrate with him.*"

[a] Caelius appears to have asked Appius for a loan or gift of some money in return for services he had rendered to Appius when the latter was prosecuted. But Appius (Caelius being a spendthrift) refused, and so ungraciously as to irritate Caelius violently. Tyrrell.
[b] Of Augurs, to which Caelius aspired to be elected.
[c] See note to § 2 of the preceding letter.
[d] L. Piso, the other censor.

am glad that you have interested yourself in Sittius's business. But seeing that you suspect that the men I sent you have shown rather doubtful honesty, I beg you to act just as though you were acting with my full authority.

XII

CAELIUS TO CICERO

Rome, about September 20, 50 B.C.

I am ashamed to confess it to you, and to complain 1
of the wrongs done me by Appius, a most ungrateful person, who is beginning to hate me, because he is indebted to me for great kindnesses; and miser that he is, being unable to enforce upon himself the discharge of that debt, he has declared a secret war against me, not so secret, however, but that many people have reported it to me, and that I could easily notice myself that he entertained evil thoughts of me.[a] But when I discovered that he had tampered with the College[b] and had then approached certain persons openly, and was hobnobbing with Domitius,[c] a man at the present juncture bitterly hostile to me, and was anxious to confer this little favour on Cn. Pompeius—why, then to get hold of the man himself, and to entreat one who, I considered, owed his very life to me, to do me no such wrong, well, that I could not prevail upon myself to do.

So what did I do? Well, in spite of all that, 2
I addressed myself to several of his friends, who could testify to my services to him. Then, after I had learnt that he did not regard my claims as even worth satisfying, I preferred to lay myself under an obligation to his colleague,[d] a man on the most

habere sensi, malui collegae eius, homini alienissimo mihi, et propter amicitiam tuam non aequissimo, me obligare, quam illius simiae vultum subire. Id postquam resciit, excanduit, et me causam inimicitiarum quaerere clamitavit, ut, si mihi in pecunia minus satisfecisset, per hanc speciem simultatis eum consectarer. Postea non destitit arcessere Polam Servium, accusatorem, inire cum Domitio consilia.
3 Quibus cum parum procederet, ut ulla lege mihi ponerent accusatorem, compellari ea lege me voluerunt, qua dicere non poterant. Insolentissimi homines summis Circensibus ludis meis postulandum me lege Scantinia curant. Vix hoc erat Pola elocutus, cum ego Appium censorem eadem lege postulavi. Quod melius caderet, nihil vidi. Nam sic est a populo, et non infimo quoque, approbatum, ut maiorem Appio dolorem fama, quam postulatio, attulerit. Praeterea coepi sacellum, in domo quod est, ab eo petere.
4 Conturbat me mora servi huius, qui tibi litteras attulit. Nam acceptis prioribus litteris, amplius quadraginta dies mansit. Quid tibi scribam, nescio. Scis Domiti odium in tumore esse.[1] Exspecto te valde, et quam primum videre cupio. A te peto, ut meas iniurias proinde doleas, ut me existimas et dolere et ulcisci tuas solere.

[1] *F. W. Sandford*: † scis Domitio diem tumoras est † *M*: scis Domitio <comitiorum> diem timori esse *Victorius*.

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[a] Cicero describes him elsewhere (*Q. F.* ii. 11. 2) as "homo taeter et ferus," "a loathsome and brutal fellow."

[b] Against unnatural crimes. The date of the law is unknown, but it was passed by the tribune Scantinius.

[c] This appropriation of public property was particularly scandalous in a Censor.

distant terms with me, and not very favourably inclined to me on account of my friendship with you, rather than suffer the grimaces of such a monkey.

When he found that out, he flared up, and shouted out that I was only seeking a pretext for falling out with him, in order that, since he had not quite satisfied me in a monetary transaction, I might attack him under cover of a quarrel of that sort. Since then he has never ceased whistling up Pola Servius[a] to act as my accuser, and hatching plots with Domitius.

And not being very successful in getting anybody 3
to accuse me under any law in existence, it was their pleasure to have me summoned under a law which left them with nothing to say. In their sublime impudence they take measures to have me charged under the Scantinian law,[b] at the very time when the Circensium games, *my* games, were at their height. Hardly had Pola uttered the words when I charged Appius the Censor under the same law. Never did I see a luckier hit. So heartily was it applauded by the populace, and not the lowest of them either, that the scandal of it has given Appius more pain than the fact of his being charged. And besides that I have begun proceedings for the restitution of a shrine now in his house.[c]

I am much put out by the dilatoriness of the slave 4
who is bringing you this letter; since I received your last he has stayed on here for more than forty days. I don't know what to tell you. You know that Domitius's hatred of me is still on the boil. I am eagerly on the look-out for you, and am anxious to see you as soon as possible. I beg you to resent my wrongs fully as much as you believe that I resent, and indeed avenge, yours.

XIII

CAELIUS CICERONI S.

Romae, A.U.C. 704.

1 Gratulor tibi affinitate viri medius fidius optimi. Nam hoc ego de illo existimo. Cetera porro, quibus adhuc ille sibi parum utilis fuit, et aetate iam sunt decussa et consuetudine atque auctoritate tua et pudore Tulliae, si qua restabunt, confide celeriter sublatum iri. Non est enim pugnax in vitiis, neque hebes ad id, quod melius sit, intellegendum. Deinde
2 (quod maximum est) ego illum valde amo. Voles, Cicero, Curionem nostrum lautum intercessionis de provinciis exitum habuisse. Nam cum de intercessione referretur, quae relatio fiebat ex senatus consulto, primaque M. Marcelli sententia pronuntiata esset, qui agendum cum tribunis plebis censebat, frequens senatus in alia omnia iit. Stomacho est scilicet Pompeius Magnus nunc ita languenti, ut vix id, quod sibi placeat, reperiat. Transierant illuc, ut ratio esset eius habenda, qui neque exercitum neque

[a] Publius Cornelius Dolabella, who had divorced his wife Fabia in the preceding year. For a further account of Dolabella see note *b* on p. 210.

[b] He was asked his opinion first as being consul elect for 49 B.C.

[c] *i.e.*, for the consulship.

XIII

CAELIUS TO CICERO

Rome, June, 50 B.C.

I congratulate you on your connexion by marriage 1
with one who is, on my solemn oath, a most excellent fellow[a]; for that is *my* opinion of him. Moreover, those other characteristics of his, which have hitherto made him his own enemy, have already been shed by his maturing age, and, if any remain, rest assured that they will be speedily exorcized by the influence of your close association with him and Tullia's modesty. For he is not stubborn in his vices, and no dullard in appreciating the better course. Another point, and the most important of all, is that I am exceedingly fond of him.

You will be glad to know, Cicero, that our friend 2
Curio's veto as regards the provinces ended splendidly. For when the question of the veto was raised (and that was done according to a decree of the Senate), and when the first opinion expressed was that of M. Marcellus[b] who held that the tribunes of the plebs should be drastically dealt with, the House voted *en masse* against it.

The fact is that Pompey, "Great" though he be, is just now in such a state of *malaise* that he can hardly discover what it is he wants.

The view they had come round to was this, that the candidature[c] of one who was inclined to surrender neither his army nor his provinces should be

provincias tradere vellet. Quemadmodum hoc Pompeius laturus sit, cum cognoro, scribam.[1] Quidnam reipublicae futurum sit, si aut armis resistat aut non curet, vos senes divites videritis. Q. Hortensius, quum has litteras scripsi, animam agebat.

XIV

CAELIUS CICERONI S.

Romae, A.U.C. 704.

1 Tanti non fuit Arsacen capere, Seleuceam expugnare, ut earum rerum, quae hic gestae sunt, spectaculo careres. Numquam tibi oculi doluissent, si in repulsa Domiti vultum vidisses. Magna illa comitia fuerunt, et plane studia ex partium sensu apparuerunt; perpauci necessitudinem secuti officium praestiterunt. Itaque mihi est Domitius inimicissimus, ut ne familiarem quidem suum quemquam tam oderit quam me; atque eo magis, quod per iniuriam sibi putat auguratum ereptum, cuius ego auctor fuerim. Nunc furit tam gavisos homines suum dolorem, unumque me[2] studiosiorem Antoni. Nam Cn. Satur-

[1] *The text here is obscure*: cognoro, scribam *is the conjecture of Wesenberg for* cognoscam . . .: *the insertion of* aut armis resistat *is also due to him.*
[2] unum quemque *Klotz and C. F. Hermann.*

[a] The famous orator, born in 114, and therefore eight years older than Cicero.
[b] The name of the first king of the Parthians, used as a title by all subsequent kings (just as the Roman emperors were all called Augustus). The Parthian king's own name was Orodes.
[c] A Greek city on the Tigris, opposite Ctesiphon.

duly considered. How Pompey is likely to take this I shall let you know when I find out; what will happen to the Republic if he either offers armed resistance or is apathetic, is a matter for you opulent old men to see to.

As I write this letter, Q. Hortensius[a] is breathing his last.

XIV

CAELIUS TO CICERO

Rome, August (between the 5th and 10th), 50 B.C.

The taking of Arsaces[b] and the storming of 1
Seleucea[c] would not have compensated you for missing the sight of what has been done here. Never again would your eyes have pained you, had you seen Domitius's face when he was rejected.[d] That election was an important one, and it was plainly evident that men took sides on party lines only; very few did their duty in accordance with the claims of personal obligations. The consequence is that Domitius is my very bitter enemy, indeed, there is not one of his own friends whom he hates so much as myself, all the more so in that he regards the augurship as having been snatched away from him by an act of injustice, for which he maintains that I was responsible. Now he is mad with rage that people should have shown such joy at his discomfiture, and that there was but one man[e] who supported Antony more strongly than

[d] As a candidate for the vacancy on the College of Augurs caused by the death of Q. Hortensius. The successful candidate was M. Antony, who was supported by Caesar and Curio and their friends. For L. Domitius see note *b* to *Ep.* 1. 4 of this book.
[e] Curio, or perhaps Saturninus.

ninum adolescentem ipse Cn. Domitius reum fecit, sane quam superiore a vita invidiosum. Quod iudicium nunc in exspectatione est, etiam in bona
2 spe, post Sex. Peducaei absolutionem. De summa republica saepe tibi scripsi, me ad annum pacem non videre; et quo propius ea contentio, quam fieri necesse est, accedit, eo clarius id periculum apparet. Propositum hoc est, de quo, qui rerum potiuntur, sunt dimicaturi, quod Cn. Pompeius constituit non pati C. Caesarem consulem aliter fieri, nisi exercitum et provincias tradiderit; Caesari autem persuasum est se salvum esse non posse, si ab exercitu recesserit. Fert illam tamen condicionem, ut ambo exercitus tradant. Sic illi amores et invidiosa coniunctio non ad occultam recidit obtrectationem, sed ad bellum se erumpit; neque mearum rerum quod consilium capiam, reperio. Quod non dubito, quin te quoque haec deliberatio sit perturbatura. Nam mihi cum hominibus his et gratia et necessitudo est; tum
3 causam illam, non homines odi. Illud te non arbitror fugere, quin homines in dissensione domestica debeant, quamdiu civiliter sine armis certetur, honestiorem sequi partem; ubi ad bellum et castra ventum

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[a] Son of L. Domitius, whom his father employed to wreak his vengeance on Saturninus, who had supported Antony.

[b] Son and namesake of the propraetor of Sicily when Cicero was quaestor there (75–74). What the charge against him was is unknown.

[c] "Caesar's friends, Curio, Dolabella, and others." How. "The Pompeians." Manutius.

[d] "Appius Claudius, L. Domitius, and perhaps Pompey." How.

I did. For Cn. Domitius[a] himself has brought an action against the young Cn. Saturninus, who is extremely unpopular as a result of his past life; and the trial is now being eagerly awaited, and with considerable confidence too, since the acquittal of Sex. Peducaeus.[b]

With regard to the general political position, I have 2
repeatedly told you in my letters that I foresee no peace that can last a year; and the nearer that struggle—and there is bound to be a struggle—approaches, the more clearly do we see the danger of it.

The point at issue, on which those who are at the head of affairs are going to fight, is this—Cn. Pompeius is determined not to allow C. Caesar to be elected consul, unless he has handed over his army and his provinces; Caesar on the other hand is convinced that there is no safety for him, if once he quits his army. He proposes, however, this compromise—that both should deliver up their armies. So it is that their vaunted mutual attachment and detestable alliance is not degenerating into merely private bickerings, but is breaking out into war. Nor can I imagine what line I am to take in regard to my own affairs (and as to that I have no doubt that you, too, are likely to be agitated by the same perplexity); for I am bound to these men[c] by ties of gratitude and intimacy, while I hate the opposite cause, but not the men who support it.[d]

You do not, I suppose, overlook the fact that men 3
involved in a feud in their own country, so long as the struggle is carried on constitutionally and without recourse to arms, are bound to follow the more honourable, but when it comes to war and taking the

sit, firmiorem; et id melius statuere, quo tutius sit. In hac discordia video Cn. Pompeium senatum, quique res iudicant, secum habiturum; ad Caesarem omnes, qui cum timore aut mala spe vivant, accessuros; exercitum conferendum non esse omnino. Modo satis spati sit[1] ad considerandas utriusque
4 copias et ad eligendam partem! Prope oblitus sum quod maxime fuit scribendum. Scis Appium censorem hic ostenta facere? de signis et tabulis, de agri modo, de aere alieno acerrime agere? Persuasum est ei censuram lomentum aut nitrum esse. Errare mihi videtur. Nam sordes eluere vult; venas sibi omnes et viscera aperit. Curre, per deos atque homines, et quam primum haec risum veni, legis Scantiniae iudicium apud Drusum fieri, Appium de tabulis et signis agere. Crede mihi, est properandum. Curio noster sapienter id, quod remisit de stipendio Pompei, fecisse existimatur. Ad summam, quaeris, quid putem futurum. Si alter uter eorum ad Parthicum bellum non eat, video magnas impendere discordias, quas ferrum et vis iudicabit. Uterque animo et copiis est paratus. Si sine tuo periculo fieri

[1] *Orelli: Tyrrell, following Ernesti and Benedict, reads* esse. Omnino satis spati est, "*in any case we have plenty of time*": esse omnino satis fati sit *M.*

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[a] *i.e.*, the *iudices* and the legal profession generally.
[b] This would come before the Censor under the head of "excessive luxury" or "gross extravagance."
[c] *Lomentum*, "bean-meal," used for washing; *nitrum*, "washing-soda." Appius is overdoing his moral ablutions, and scrubbing his reputation raw.
[d] Some debauchee or other, probably a Claudius by birth, and a Drusus by adoption. How.
[e] See note on viii. 12. 3.

field, the stronger cause, and to resolve upon that as the better course in proportion to its greater safety. Amid all this discord I see that while Pompey will have on his side the Senate and those who settle cases at law[a]; all who live a life of fear, or but little hope, will join Caesar, for his army is altogether above comparison. Only may we have time enough to consider the resources of each, and choose our side!

I nearly forgot what I had especially wanted to 4
write. Do you know that Censor Appius is performing prodigies, that he is showing vigorous activity in the matter of statues and pictures,[b] the amount of land held, and debts? He has convinced himself that his censorship is as good as soap or soda. I think he is making a mistake. What he wants is to wash away his stains, but he is exposing all his veins and his skinned flesh.[c] In the name of gods and men, hurry home, and come as soon as possible to have your laugh at what is going on here—Drusus[d] presiding over a trial under the Scantinian law,[e] Appius busying himself about pictures and statues! I give you my word, you have got to make haste.

It is thought that our friend Curio acted wisely in making a concession as to the payment of Pompey's troops.[f]

To sum up, you ask what I think will happen. Well, unless one or other of them goes to fight the Parthians, I see the imminence of violent feuds, which only the sword and force will settle. Each of the two is well prepared in resolution and resources. If it could only be managed without personal risk to

[f] In Spain and at Ariminum. Curio shrank from embittering Pompey's men against Caesar.

posset, magnum et iucundum tibi fortuna spectaculum parabat.

XV

CAELIUS CICERONI S.

In Gallia Cisalpina, A.U.C. 705.

1 Ecquando tu hominem ineptiorem quam tuum Cn. Pompeium vidisti, qui tantas turbas, qui tam nugax esset, commorit? Ecquem autem Caesare nostro acriorem in rebus gerendis, eodem in victoria temperatiorem aut legisti aut audisti? Quid est? Num tibi nostri milites, qui durissimis et frigidissimis locis, taeterrima hieme, bellum ambulando confecerunt, malis orbiculatis esse pasti videntur? Quid? tam,[1] inquis, gloriose omnia? Sed si scias, quam sollicitus sim, tum hanc meam gloriam, quae ad me nihil pertinet, derideas. Quae tibi exponere, nisi coram, non possum; idque celeriter fore spero. Nam me, cum expulisset ex Italia Pompeium, constituit ad Urbem vocare; id quod iam existimo confectum, nisi

2 si maluit Pompeius Brundisi circumsederi. Peream, si minima causa est properandi isto mihi, quod te videre et omnia intima conferre discupio. Habeo autem quam multa! Hui vereor (quod solet fieri), ne, quum te videro, omnia obliviscar. Sed tamen

[1] *Wesenberg*: iam *MSS.*

[a] *i.e.*, delicacies, so that they would be incapable of fatigue.
[b] *i.e.*, all the glory was Caesar's.
[c] Obviously Caesar.

yourself, a drama of infinite entertainment is being staged by Fortune for your benefit.

XV

CAELIUS TO CICERO

North Italy, about March 9, 49 B.C.

Did you ever see a sillier fellow than your Cn. Pompeius, stirring up all this mud by his futile inefficiency? On the other hand, did you ever read or hear of anyone more vigorous in action than our Caesar, or more moderate in victory either? What do you mean? Do you really imagine that our troops who in the roughest and coldest regions on earth, during a winter of exceptional severity, finished the war by a mere march past, have been feeding on chubby-faced apples[a]? "Why all this glorification?" you ask. Ah, did you but know how anxious I am, then you would jeer at this glorying of mine, which in fact does not touch me at all.[b] All this I can only explain to you at a personal interview, and I hope that will soon come about. For he determined to summon me to Rome when he[c] had driven Pompey out of Italy; and that I now regard as an accomplished fact, unless Pompey has decided that it is better to stand a siege at Brundisium. 1

May I perish if the main reason for my hurrying to Rome is not that I am bursting with eagerness to see you, and discuss with you my inmost thoughts! But what a lot of them I have! Alas, I fear that, as so often happens, when I do see you, I shall forget them all. But anyhow what sin have I committed 2

quodnam ob scelus iter mihi necessarium retro ad Alpes versus incidit? Ideo quod Intimilii in armis sunt, neque de magna causa. Bellienus, verna Demetri, qui ibi cum praesidio erat, Domitium quemdam, nobilem illic Caesaris hospitem, a contraria factione nummis acceptis comprehendit et strangulavit. Civitas ad arma iit. Eo cum quattuor cohortibus mihi per nives eundum est. Usquequaque, inquies, se Domitii male dant. Vellem quidem Venere prognatus tantum animi habuisset in vestro Domitio quantum Psecade natus in hoc habuit. Ciceroni f. s. d.

XVI

M. CAELIUS S. D. M. CICERONI

Intimili (?), A.U.C. 705.

1 Exanimatus tuis litteris, quibus te nihil nisi triste cogitare ostendisti, neque, id quid esset, perscripsisti, neque non tamen, quale esset, quod cogitares, aperuisti, has illico ad te litteras scripsi. Per fortunas tuas, Cicero, per liberos, oro, obsecro, ne quid gravius de salute et incolumitate tua consulas. Nam deos hominesque amicitiamque nostram testificor, me tibi praedixisse, neque temere monuisse; sed postquam Caesarem convenerim sen-

[a] A Ligurian people. Their chief town was *Albium Intimilium*, now *Ventimiglia*.

[b] Julius Caesar.

[c] Bellienus, son of Psecas—a common name for a lady's maid or tire-woman (*cf.* Juv. vi. 491).

[d] f. s. d. = filio salutem do.

[e] Or "frightened to death." How.

that I have had inflicted upon me the necessity of a journey back towards the Alps? Simply because the Intimilii[a] are up in arms, and for no great reason. Bellienus, a domestic slave of Demetrius, who was there with a garrison, taking a bribe from the opposing faction, seized a certain Domitius, a noble who had entertained Caesar there, and strangled him. The whole state has taken up arms. That is where I have to go with four cohorts through all the snow. The Domitii, you will remark, are going to the dogs all the world over. I could certainly wish that the descendant of Venus[b] had shown as much determination in the case of your Domitius as the offspring of a Psecas[c] showed in the case of this one. My kindest regards[d] to your son Cicero.

XVI

CAELIUS TO CICERO

Intimilium (?), or on the march to Spain, April 16 (?), 49 B.C.

Profoundly alarmed[e] by your letter, in which you showed that you were thinking only of some gloomy project without fully explaining what it was, and at the same time did not fail to disclose the trend of your meditations, I am writing this letter on the spot. 1

In the name of your future and of your children, I implore and beseech you, Cicero, to take no step to the serious detriment of your safety and assured position. For I call heaven and earth and the friendship between us to witness that I told you of this beforehand, and that my warning was not without foundation; but that, after interviewing Caesar and ascer-

tentiamque eius, qualis futura esset parta victoria cognoverim, te certiorem fecisse. Si existimas eamdem rationem fore Caesari in dimittendis adversariis et condicionibus ferendis, erras. Nihil nisi atrox et saevum cogitat, atque etiam loquitur. Iratus senatui exiit; his intercessionibus plane incitatus est; non,
2 mehercule, erit deprecationi locus. Quare si tibi tu, si filius unicus, si domus, si spes tuae reliquae tibi carae sunt, si aliquid apud te nos, si vir optimus, gener tuus, valet, (quorum fortunas non debes velle conturbare, ut eam causam, in cuius victoria salus nostra est, odisse aut relinquere cogamur, aut impiam cupiditatem contra salutem tuam habeamus), denique illud cogita, quod offensae fuerit in ista cunctatione, te subisse; nunc te contra victorem facere, quem dubiis rebus laedere noluisti, et ad eos fugatos accedere, quos resistentes sequi nolueris, summae stultitiae est. Vide, ne, dum pudet te parum optimatem esse, parum diligenter, quid optimum sit, eligas.
3 Quod si totum tibi persuadere non possum, saltem, dum quid de Hispaniis agamus scitur, exspecta;

[a] Especially of L. Metellus, a bitter enemy of Caesar.

[b] *i.e.*, "you have certainly vexed Caesar by your indecision in the past, but to throw him over for Pompey *now* would be suicidal."

[c] Caelius was in the army of Caesar, who was marching into Spain to attack the Pompeian generals, Afranius, Petreius, and Varro.

taining what his sentiments were likely to be if he won the victory, I gave you further information.

If you imagine that Caesar's policy will be the same as ever as regards letting his adversaries off and proposing terms of peace, you are making a mistake. His intentions and even his expression of them are, without exception, grim and pitiless. He was enraged with the Senate when he left Rome; and he has evidently been scandalized by the recent interventions of the tribunes[a]; there is no room, I solemnly aver, for any appeal to mercy.

Consequently, if you have any regard for yourself, 2
for your only son, for your household, and for the prospects that are left you, if I and that excellent man, your son-in-law, have any influence with you (and it ought not to be your wish so to derange our fortunes as either to compel us to abominate or abandon that cause upon the triumph of which depends *our* prosperity, or else to harbour an unhallowed desire to see the end of *yours*), then do finally take this into consideration, that whatever odium was attached to your original hesitation[b] has been already incurred; that you should *now* take action against a victorious Caesar, whom you shrank from affronting when his success was in the balance, and join those combatants when put to flight, whom you shrank from following when they faced the foe, —that, I say, is the very height of folly. Take heed lest, in your shame at having lacked enthusiasm for the "nobles," you lack discrimination in your choice of the nobler cause.

But if I cannot altogether convince you, at any rate 3
wait while we are collecting intelligence as to how we are getting on in the matter of the Spains,[c] both

quas tibi nuntio adventu Caesaris fore nostras. Quam isti spem habeant amissis Hispaniis nescio. Quod porro tuum consilium sit ad desperatos accedere, non
4 medius fidius reperio. Hoc, quod tu non dicendo mihi significasti, Caesar audierat, ac simul atque 'have' mihi dixit, statim quid de te audisset exposuit. Negavi me scire, sed tamen ab eo petii, ut ad te litteras mitteret, quibus maxime ad remanendum commoveri posses. Me secum in Hispaniam ducit. Nam nisi ita faceret, ego prius, quam ad Urbem accederem, ubicumque esses, ad te percurrissem et hoc a te praesens contendissem atque omni vi te retinuissem.
5 Etiam atque etiam, Cicero, cogita, ne te tuosque omnes funditus evertas; ne te sciens prudensque eo demittas, unde exitum vides nullum esse. Quod si te aut voces optimatium commovent, aut nonnullorum hominum insolentiam et iactationem ferre non potes, eligas censeo aliquod oppidum vacuum a bello, dum haec decernuntur, quae iam erunt confecta. Id si feceris, et ego te sapienter fecisse iudicabo et Caesarem non offendes.

of which, I beg to inform you, will on the arrival of Caesar be ours. What hope your friends have left them when they have lost the Spains, I know not; and further, what your idea is in joining men so desperately situated, I take my solemn oath, I cannot conceive.

What you so clearly intimated to me by your very 4
silence had got to Caesar's ears, and he had no sooner wished me "good morning" than he told me the whole story of what he had heard about you. I said I knew nothing about it, but all the same I besought him to write you such a letter as might be most likely to frighten you into staying in Italy. He is taking me with him into Spain; if he were not, I should have hurried all the way to join you, wherever you were, before approaching the city, and urged you personally to make me this promise, and exerted all my powers to keep you from going away.

Think it over again and again, Cicero, so as not to 5
bring utter ruin upon yourself and your friends, or knowingly and with your eyes open let yourself sink into a morass, out of which, as you see, you can never emerge.

But if you are either disturbed by the comments of the Optimates, or unable to tolerate the swaggering insolence of certain other fellows, my advice is that you should select some suitable town unaffected by the war, while these issues, which will be presently settled, are being decided. If you do so, not only shall I judge you to have acted wisely, but you will avoid giving offence to Caesar.

XVII

CAELIUS CICERONI S.

Romae, A.U.C. 706.

1 Ergo me potius in Hispania fuisse tum, quam Formiis, cum tu profectus es ad Pompeium! Quod utinam aut Appius Claudius in hac parte fuisset aut[1] in ista parte C. Curio, cuius amicitia me paullatim in hanc perditam causam imposuit; nam mihi sentio bonam mentem iracundia et amore ablatam. Tu, tu porro, cum ad te proficiscens noctu Ariminum venissem, dum mihi pacis mandata das ad Caesarem et mirificum civem agis, amici officium neglexisti neque mihi consuluisti. Neque haec dico, quod diffidam huic causae, sed, crede mihi, perire satius est quam
2 hos videre. Quod si timor vestrae crudelitatis non esset, eiecti iam pridem hinc essemus. Nam hic nunc praeter foeneratores paucos nec homo nec ordo quisquam est, nisi Pompeianus. Equidem iam effeci ut maxime plebs et, qui antea noster fuit, populus vester esset. Cur hoc, inquis? Immo reliqua exspecta. Vos invitos vincere coegero. Miramini me Catonem[2]? Vos dormitis nec haec adhuc mihi videmini intel-

[1] *Klotz: the MSS. have only* Claudius in ista parte C. Curio *which is unintelligible.*

[2] *C. F. Hermann's admirable conjecture for* †Arrumtanum me Catonem *of M:* geram alterum me Catonem *Orelli and Baiter:* narrant anus me Catonem *J. S. Reid.*

[a] *i.e.*, anger with Appius and affection for Curio.

[b] Caelius, with Antony, Cassius, and Curio, fled from Rome on the night of Jan. 7 to join Caesar at Ariminum.

[c] "Caesar won the favour of the capitalists by not abolishing debts. That he refrained from doing so was a sore point with the deeply involved Caelius." Tyrrell.

XVII

CAELIUS TO CICERO

Rome, February, 48 B.C.

So I was in Spain, more's the pity, instead of at 1
Formiae, when you set out to join Pompey! Well, I only wish either that Appius Claudius were on our side, or that C. Curio were on yours; for it was my friendship with the latter that imperceptibly lured me to embark upon this accursed cause; indeed I am conscious that it was anger on the one hand and affection on the other[a] that robbed me of all sound judgment. You, too, when, on my departure by night for Ariminum, I came to see you,[b] while you were giving me messages of peace for Caesar, and posing as quite an admirable citizen,—you, I say, failed in your duty as a friend, and did nothing to further my interests. And I am not speaking thus because I have lost confidence in our cause, but, believe me, I'd sooner be hanged than endure the sight of these fellows here.

Indeed, were it not that people are afraid of you 2
Pompeians' ruthlessness, we should have been flung out of Rome long ago; for with the exception of a few money-lenders,[c] there is not an individual, not an order, that is not Pompeian. Why, I myself have now succeeded in putting the rabble in particular, and the people in general, who were previously on our side, on yours. "Why did you do that?" you say. Ah, wait and see what follows. I mean to compel you to be victorious, however much you may object. Are you all surprised to find me a regular Cato? As for you, you are all asleep, and so far do

legere qua nos pateamus et qua simus imbecilli. Atque hoc nullius praemi spe faciam, sed, quod apud me plurimum solet valere, doloris atque indignitatis causa. Quid istic facitis? Praelium exspectatis, quod firmissimum habet[1]? Vestras copias non novi. Nostri valde depugnare et facile algere et esurire consuerunt.

[1] *Orelli*: firmissimum †haec *M.*

not seem to me to perceive where we are open to attack, and where we are weak. Yes, and I shall act thus with no hope of any reward, but out of pure chagrin and a sense of humiliation; that is what, as a rule, influences me more than anything. What are you all doing over there? Waiting for a battle, on which Caesar confidently relies? Of *your* forces I know nothing. *Our* men have acquired the habit of putting up a stubborn and decisive fight, and making light of cold and hunger.

LIBER NONUS

I

M. T. CICERO S. D. M. TERENTIO VARRONI

Romae, A.U.C. 708

1 Ex iis litteris, quas Atticus a te missas mihi legit, quid ageres, et ubi esses, cognovi; quando autem te visuri essemus, nihil sane ex iisdem litteris potui suspicari. In spem tamen venio, appropinquare tuum adventum, qui mihi utinam solatio sit! Etsi tot tantisque rebus urgemur, nullam ut allevationem quisquam non stultissimus sperare debeat; sed tamen aut tu potes me aut ego te fortasse aliqua re iuvare.

2 Scito enim me, posteaquam in Urbem venerim, redisse cum veteribus amicis, id est cum libris nostris, in gratiam. Etsi non idcirco eorum usum dimiseram, quod iis succenserem, sed quod eorum me suppude-

[a] Born at Reate in 116 B.C. Not only was Varro considered the most learned of Roman scholars, but he was the most voluminous of Roman authors. In 67 during the Mithridatic and Pirate wars he held high command under Pompey, who bestowed upon him a "naval crown." At the outbreak of the Civil War he commanded the Pompeian forces in Further Spain, and during the Thessalian campaign he was with Cicero at Dyrrhachium; but though he supported the Pompeian party he, like many others, was pardoned by Caesar, who even compelled Antony to restore

BOOK IX

I

CICERO TO M. TERENTIUS VARRO [a]

Rome, early in 46 B.C.

What you were doing and where you were, I gathered from the letter which you sent to Atticus and he read to me; but as to when we were likely to see you, I could get no hint at all from that same letter. I am beginning to hope, however, that your arrival is approaching, and I pray that it may bring me comfort; and yet so many and so great are the evils that oppress us, that no man who is not an utter fool should hope for any alleviation of them; but even so it may perhaps be that you can give me, or I you, some assistance. 1

For you must know that since I came to the City, I have become reconciled with my old friends, in other words, with my books. And yet it was not because I was a little angry with them that I had put them away, but because they made me a little 2

an estate of which he had robbed Varro, which is probably the reason why Varro was proscribed by the second triumvirate in 43; but he escaped, and was ultimately protected by Octavian. Cicero had no great liking for him, thinking him insincere and "full of twists," and his letters to him are, as Reid says, "cold, forced, and artificial."

bat. Videbar enim mihi, quum me in res turbulentissimas infidelissimis sociis demisissem, praeceptis illorum non satis paruisse. Ignoscunt mihi, revocant in consuetudinem pristinam, teque, quod in ea[1] permanseris, sapientiorem, quam me, dicunt fuisse. Quamobrem, quoniam placatis iis utor, videor sperare debere, si te viderim, et ea quae premant, et ea quae impendeant, me facile transiturum. Quamobrem sive in Tusculano, sive in Cumano ad te placebit, sive (quod minime velim) Romae, dummodo simul simus, perficiam profecto, ut id utrique nostrum commodissimum esse iudicetur.[2]

II

CICERO VARRONI

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Caninius tuus idem, et idem noster, cum ad me pervesperi venisset et se postridie mane ad te iturum esse dixisset, dixi ei me daturum aliquid; mane ut peteret, rogavi. Conscripsi epistulam noctu; nec ille ad me rediit; oblitum credidi. Attamen eam ipsam tibi epistolam misissem per meos, nisi audissem ex eodem, postridie te mane e Tusculano exiturum. At tibi repente paucis post diebus, cum minime exspectarem, venit ad me Caninius mane; proficisci

[1] in ea *Lambinus*; in eo MSS.
[2] *Benedict*: diiudicetur *M*: videatur *Cratander*.

[a] Probably the Caninius Gallus who was tribune of the plebs in 56, and proposed that Pompey should restore Ptolemy Auletes without an army (see i. 2. 1 and 4). He was defended by Cicero in 55 and died in 44.

ashamed of myself. For it seemed to me that when, thanks to my utterly untrustworthy associates, I plunged into the seething cauldron of affairs, I had not quite obeyed their instructions. They forgive me, and invite me back to the old intimacy, and say that you are wiser than I, because you remained true to it. And therefore, now that I find them appeased, I think I am right in hoping that, if I see you, I shall easily surmount both those difficulties which are urgent and those which threaten us in the future; so whether it is decided I should join you at your Tusculan or Cuman villa, or (which I should least like) at Rome, provided we are together, I shall assuredly bring it about that that meeting-place will be judged the most convenient possible to each of us.

II

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, soon after April 20, 46 B.C.

Caninius,[a] who is as much my friend as yours, 1
came to me very late one evening and told me he was going to you early on the following day; I told him I had something to give him, and asked him to come and fetch it in the morning. I composed a letter during the night, but he never called upon me again; I concluded that he had forgotten. But I should nevertheless have sent that very letter through my friends had not that same Caninius informed me that you were leaving your Tusculan villa early next day. But, lo and behold, a few days afterwards, when I least expected it, Caninius paid me a sudden visit one morning and told me

ad te statim dixit. Etsi erat ἕωλος illa epistola, praesertim tantis postea novis rebus allatis, tamen perire lucubrationem meam nolui, et eam ipsam Caninio dedi; sed cum eo, ut cum homine docto et tui amantissimo, locutus ea sum, quae pertulisse illum ad te
2 existimo. Tibi autem idem consili do, quod mihimetipsi, ut vitemus oculos hominum, si linguas minus facile possimus. Qui enim victoria se efferunt, quasi victos nos intuentur; qui autem victos nostros moleste ferunt, nos dolent vivere. Quaeres fortasse, cur, cum haec in Urbe sint, non absim, quemadmodum tu. Tu enim ipse, qui et me et alios prudentia vincis, omnia, credo, vidisti; nihil te omnino fefellit. Quis est tam Lynceus, qui in tantis tenebris nihil offendat,
3 nusquam incurrat? Ac mihi quidem iam pridem venit in mentem, bellum esse, aliquo exire, ut ea, quae agebantur hic, quaeque dicebantur, nec viderem nec audirem. Sed calumniabar ipse. Putabam, qui obviam mihi venisset, ut cuique commodum esset, suspicaturum aut dicturum, etiamsi non suspicaretur, "Hic aut metuit, et ea re fugit; aut aliquid cogitat et habet navem paratam." Denique, levissime qui suspicaretur, et qui fortasse me optime novisset,

[a] The Argonaut, famous for his keen sight. Or the reading may be *lynceus*, "with the eyes of a lynx."

he was off to see you straight away. Although the letter I have mentioned was now *passé*, especially in view of the news of such important events received after it was written, yet I did not care to have my midnight labour wasted, and so handed that very letter to Caninius; but I conversed with him as I would with an erudite man and a sincere friend of yours, and I imagine that he has given you a full report of that conversation.

Now I give you the very same advice I give my- 2
self—that we should avoid the eyes of men, if we cannot so easily avoid their tongues. For those who are exalted by the victory look upon us as defeated, while those who resent the defeat of our friends are hurt at our remaining alive. You will perhaps ask why, when all this is going on in the City, I am not out of it, just as you are. For I have no doubt that you, a man of keener penetration than myself and others, of course saw everything; nothing whatever escaped your notice. But who, I ask you, is such an absolute Lynceus[a] as not to stumble over or bark his shins against anything anywhere, when all is dark as pitch?

And indeed it has long since occurred to me 3
myself that it would be very nice to leave Rome and go somewhere else so as to escape seeing or hearing what was going on here and what was being said. But I was morbidly self-critical; I thought that whoever met me would, according to his particular bent, suspect, or even if he did not suspect it, would say, "This fellow is either afraid, and for that reason is a runagate, or else has some scheme in his head, and has a ship in readiness." In fine, the man with the least sinister suspicions, and who perhaps

putaret me idcirco discedere, quod quosdam homines oculi mei ferre non possent. Haec ego suspicans, adhuc Romae maneo; et tamen λεληθότως consuetudo diuturna callum iam obduxit stomacho meo.
4 Habes rationem mei consili. Tibi igitur hoc censeo: latendum tantisper ibidem, dum defervescat[1] haec gratulatio, et simul dum audiamus, quemadmodum negotium confectum sit; confectum enim esse existimo. Magni autem intererit, qui fuerit victoris animus, qui exitus rerum. Quamquam quo me con-
5 iectura ducat, habeo; sed exspecto tamen. Te vero nolo, nisi ipse rumor iam raucus erit factus, ad Baias venire. Erit enim nobis honestius, etiam cum discesserimus, videri venisse in illa loca ploratum potius quam natatum. Sed haec tu melius; modo nobis stet illud, una vivere in studiis nostris, a quibus antea delectationem modo petebamus, nunc vero etiam salutem; non deesse, si quis adhibere volet, non modo ut architectos, verum etiam ut fabros, ad aedificandam rempublicam, et potius libenter accurrere; si nemo utetur opera, tamen et scribere et legere πολιτείας; et si minus in curia atque in foro, at in litteris et libris, ut doctissimi veteres fecerunt, gna-

[1] *Lambinus:* effervescit *codd., but that Cicero should have used* dum *in a different sense in two closely consecutive clauses is hard to believe.*

[a] Which would be the chief occupation of visitors to Baiae, where it was now the "season." Tyrrell.

knew me best, would suppose that my departure was due to the fact that my eyes could not endure the sight of certain people. Because I suspect all this I still remain at Rome; and, after all, length of usage has, without my knowing it, rendered my temper callous.

I have given you the grounds of my policy. This 4
then is what I think you should do yourself—lie low just where you are until all this rejoicing cools down, and at the same time until we hear after what fashion this business has been settled—for settled I think it has been. Much will depend, however, on the temper of the conqueror, and on the issue of affairs. And yet I know where my conjectures lead me; but all the same I await the result.

I really do not like your coming to Baiae, unless 5
it is after this tittle-tattle has talked itself hoarse; for it will be more creditable to us, even when we have left Rome, to be thought to have visited those districts to indulge in sorrow rather than in sea-bathing.[a] But you can judge of all this better than I; only let us be fixed in this determination—to live together amid those studies of ours in which we previously sought nothing but delight, but now seek our salvation also; and, if anyone desires to employ us, not merely as master-builders, but even as masons, to build up the Republic, not to hang back, but rather to hasten forward with alacrity; if nobody avails himself of our services, at any rate to write and read "Political Constitutions"; and if we fail to do so in the Senate-house and the Forum, at all events strenuously to support the State, as the greatest ancient philosophers have done, in litera-

vare rem publicam, et de moribus ac legibus quaerere. Mihi haec videntur. Tu, quid sis acturus, et quid tibi placeat, pergratum erit, si ad me scripseris.

III

CICERO VARRONI

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Etsi, quid scriberem, non habebam tamen, Caninio ad te eunti non potui nihil dare. Quid ergo potissimum scribam? Quod velle te puto, cito me ad te esse venturum. Etsi vide, quaeso, satisne rectum sit, nos, hoc tanto incendio civitatis, in istis locis esse. Dabimus sermonem iis, qui nesciunt, nobis, quocumque in loco simus, eumdem cultum, eumdem victum esse. Quid refert? Tamen in sermonem incidemus. Valde id, credo, laborandum est, ne, cum omnes in omni genere et scelerum et flagitiorum volutentur, nostra nobiscum aut inter nos cessatio vituperetur.
2 Ego vero, neglecta barbarorum inscitia, te persequar; quamvis enim haec sint misera, quae sunt miserrima, tamen artes nostrae nescio quo modo nunc uberiores fructus ferre videntur, quam olim ferebant, sive quia nulla nunc in re alia acquiescimus, sive quod gravitas

[a] Probably Baiae.

[b] *i.e.*, even at Baiae their housekeeping will be plain and simple.

[c] Some make this a remark put in the mouth of Varro; but Cicero seems to be himself scornfully rejecting his own remark about "gossip."

[d] *inter nos*, indicating that they were not merely together but that there was close intercourse between them.

[e] "However I, despising those Philistines, as they know no better, will repair to you." Tyrrell.

ture and in books, and to investigate ethics and laws. These are *my* opinions. As for yourself, I shall be very grateful if you will write and tell me what you intend to do, and what your views are.

III

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, shortly before April 20, 46 B.C.

Although I do not know what to write, still it is 1
impossible for me to put nothing in Caninius's hand when he is going to you. What then had I best write? Well, what I think is your wish—that I shall come and see you quite soon. And yet consider, I beg you, whether it is quite the right thing for us to be in the place you indicate[a] while this awful conflagration of the State is still raging. We shall give food for gossip to those who do not know that, wherever we are, we keep to the same style of living and the same fare.[b] What does it matter? Whatever we do, we shall become the subject of gossip.[c] We ought, I suppose, to take vast pains lest, when all the world is wallowing in every kind of crime and immorality, our taking a holiday together or in each other's society[d] should provoke a scandal.
However, I for my part shall disregard these Goths, 2
who know no better,[e] and follow your lead. For although all is misery here, and worse misery there cannot be, still somehow or other our literary pursuits seem to bear a richer harvest than they bore of old, whether it is because now there is nothing else to which we can quietly settle down, or because the

morbi facit, ut medicinae egeamus, eaque nunc appareat; cuius vim non sentiebamus, cum valebamus. Sed quid ego nunc haec ad te, cuius domi nascuntur? γλαῦκ' εἰς Ἀθήνας. Nihil scilicet, nisi ut rescriberes aliquid, me exspectares. Sic igitur facies.

IV

CICERO VARRONI

In Tusculano, A.U.C. 708.

Περὶ δυνατῶν me scito κατὰ Διόδωρον κρίνειν. Quapropter, si venturus es, scito necesse esse te venire; sin autem non es, ἀδύνατον[1] est te venire. Nunc vide, utra te κρίσις magis delectet, Χρυσιππεία-ne, an haec, quam noster Diodotus non concoquebat. Sed de his etiam rebus, otiosi cum erimus, loquemur; hoc etiam κατὰ Χρύσιππον δυνατόν est. De Cocceio[2] mihi gratum est; nam id etiam Attico mandaram. Tu si minus ad nos, accurremus ad te. Si hortum in bibliotheca habes, deerit nihil.

[1] *Tyrrell, with Wesenberg and Cratander*: τῶν ἀδυνάτων *vulg.*: non est ἀδυνάτων *M.*

[2] *Corradus*: †Coctio *Tyrrell, who adds that the name is not found in Latin.*

[a] *i.e.*, "coals to Newcastle," as we say, the owl being favoured at Athens as being sacred to Athene, the tutelary goddess of that city.

[b] Diodorus, a philosopher of Megara, whose theory of the Possible was as stated here.

[c] Chrysippus differed from Diodorus in defining the Possible as what is capable of being true if circumstances do not prevent it.

[d] Diodotus taught Cicero dialectic, and "the friendship between the two lasted until the death of Diodotus; according to a fashion set by the Roman Stoic circle of the time of Cicero and Laelius, he became an inmate of Cicero's house, where he died in 59 B.C., leaving his pupil heir to a considerable property." Reid, *Acad.* p. 2.

[e] *i.e.*, "plain living and high thinking"; so Tyrrell takes it, and *hortus* is often used for "vegetables." *Cf.* Hor. *Sat.* ii. 4. 16.

severity of the disease forces upon us the need for medicine, and that medicine now reveals itself, though we perceived not its virtue when we were well.

But why do I preach these doctrines now, and to you too, at whose home they are born—sending "an owl to Athens[a]?" For no reason, of course, but to make you write something in reply, and look forward to my coming; and that I am sure you will do.

IV

CICERO TO THE SAME

Tusculum, early in June, 46 B.C.

About things *possible* you must know that I judge according to Diodorus.[b] And therefore if you are about to come, you must know that your coming is *necessary*; if you are not, then your coming is *impossible*. Now then consider which judgment gives you the greater pleasure, that of Chrysippus[c] or this one, which was too much for the digestion of our teacher Diodotus.[d] But of these matters too we shall talk when we are at leisure; for this also is *possible* according to Chrysippus. I am obliged to you about Cocceius; for I had given that commission to Atticus also. If you fail to come to me, I shall hasten to you. If you have a garden in your library, we shall have all we want.[e]

V

CICERO VARRONI

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Mihi vero ad Nonas bene maturum videtur fore, neque solum propter reipublicae, sed etiam propter anni tempus. Quare istum diem probo; itaque eum-
2 dem ipse sequar. Consili nostri, ne si eos quidem, qui id secuti non sunt, non poeniteret, nobis poenitendum putarem. Secuti enim sumus non spem, sed officium; reliquimus autem non officium, sed desperationem. Ita verecundiores fuimus, quam qui se domo non commoverunt; saniores, quam qui amissis opibus domum non reverterunt. Sed nihil minus fero, quam severitatem otiosorum, et, quoquo modo se res habet, magis illos vereor, qui in bello occiderunt, quam hos curo, quibus non satisfacimus, quia
3 vivimus. Mihi si spatium fuerit in Tusculanum ante Nonas veniendi, istic te videbo; sin minus, persequar in Cumanum et ante te certiorem faciam, ut lavatio parata sit.

[a] This letter was written shortly after *Ep.* 7 in this book.

[b] For our meeting with Caesar.

[c] *i.e.*, in first joining Pompey, and then withdrawing from the war.

[d] "As of course they do."

V

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, end of May, 46 B.C.[a]

Certainly, I think the 5th of June will be high time[b] 1
on account not only of the constitutional crisis but of the season of the year. I therefore approve your choice of date, and shall accordingly keep to the same myself.

As to the course we adopted,[c] I should not have 2
thought that *we* ought to regret it, even if those who did not adopt it had now no reason to regret *their* decision.[d] For we followed the lead, not of hope, but of a sense of duty; on the other hand, what we turned our backs on was not duty, but a hopeless cause. We, therefore, had a quicker sense of honour than those who never stirred from home, and were less infatuated than those who never returned home when all their resources were exhausted. But there is nothing I resent so much as the harsh criticism of those who did nothing at all; and however the matter stands, I venerate more those who fell in the war than I care for those still with us, who are dissatisfied with us for presuming to live.

If I have time to come to your Tusculan villa before 3
the 5th, I shall see you there; failing that, I shall follow you to your Cuman villa, and give you notice beforehand, so that a bath may be ready waiting.

VI

CICERO VARRONI

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Caninius noster me tuis verbis admonuit, ut scriberem ad te, si quid esset, quod putarem te scire oportere. Est igitur adventus (Caesaris scilicet) in exspectatione; neque tu id ignoras. Sed tamen, cum ille scripsisset, ut opinor, se in Alsiense venturum, scripserunt ad eum sui, ne id faceret; multos ei molestos fore, ipsumque multis; Ostiae videri commodius eum exire posse. Id ego non intellegebam, quid interesset. Sed tamen Hirtius mihi dixit, et se ad eum, et Balbum, et Oppium scripsisse, ut ita faceret,
2 homines, ut cognovi, amantes tui. Hoc ego idcirco nosse te volui, ut scires, hospitium tibi ubi parares, vel potius ut utrubique; quid enim ille facturus sit, incertum est; et simul ostentavi tibi, me istis esse familiarem et consiliis eorum interesse. Quod ego cur nolim, nihil video. Non enim est idem, ferre, si quid ferendum est, et probare, si quid probandum non est. Etsi quid non probem, equidem iam nescio praeter initia rerum. Nam haec in voluntate fuerunt. Vidi enim (nam tu aberas) nostros amicos cupere bellum; hunc autem non tam cupere, quam non timere.

[a] Alsium was a colony on the sea-coast near Caere in Etruria, and many Roman nobles had villas there, who, being Pompeians, would hardly be cordial in their welcome of Caesar.

[b] Cicero explains himself more or less in the concluding words of § 2; but his meaning is not very clear.

VI

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, the latter half of June, 46 B.C.

Our friend Caninius gave me your message, re- 1
minding me to write and tell you if there were anything which I considered you ought to know. Well then, his arrival—I mean Caesar's—is being eagerly awaited, and of that you are well aware yourself. However on his writing, as I believe, that he would come to his villa at Alsium,[a] his friends wrote and told him not to do so; many people there would, they said, be an annoyance to him, and he to many; it looked as if it might be more convenient for him to land at Ostia. I do not see myself what difference it makes. And yet Hirtius told me that he himself and Balbus and Oppius had all three written to him to do so—men who are, as I am well assured, devoted to you.

I wished you to be informed of this in order that 2
you might know where to prepare quarters for yourself, or rather that you might do so in both places; for it is uncertain what he will do; and incidentally I have clearly shown you that I am on intimate terms with those men and share their counsels; and I see no reason why I should be indisposed to do so. For to bear what must be borne is not at all the same thing as to approve what must not be approved. Though indeed, what I should "not approve" I don't now know, except the first beginnings of the business; for they depended on voluntary choice.[b] I saw—you, of course, were abroad—that while our friends desired war, Caesar did not so much desire it

Ergo haec consili fuerunt, reliqua necessaria. Vin-
3 cere autem aut hos aut illos necesse est. Scio te semper mecum in luctu fuisse, cum videremus cum illud ingens malum, alterius utrius exercitus et ducum interitum, tum vero extremum malorum omnium esse civilis belli victoriam; quam quidem ego etiam illorum timebam, ad quos veneramus. Crudeliter enim otiosis[1] minabantur: eratque iis et tua invisa voluntas et mea oratio. Nunc vero, si essent nostri potiti, valde intemperantes fuissent. Erant enim nobis perirati, quasi quidquam de nostra salute decrevissemus, quod non idem illis censuissemus; aut quasi utilius reipublicae fuerit, eos etiam ad bestiarum auxilium confugere, quam vel emori, vel cum spe, si
4 non optima, at aliqua tamen vivere. At in perturbata republica vivimus. Quis negat? Sed hoc viderint ii, qui nulla sibi subsidia ad omnes vitae status paraverunt. Huc enim ut venirem, superior longius, quam volui, fluxit oratio. Cum enim te semper magnum hominem duxerim, quod his tempestatibus es prope solus in portu, fructusque doctrinae percipis eos, qui maximi sunt, ut ea consideres eaque tractes, quorum

[1] otiosissimi *HD, which Tyrrell reads,* "*though they did absolutely nothing themselves.*"

[a] Cicero was opposed to the Pompeians' seeking the aid of Juba, king of Numidia, and his elephants.

as not dread it. Consequently those first beginnings were matter for deliberation, whereas what followed was inevitable—inevitable too the victory of one side or the other.

I know you were always at one with me in grieving 3
when we saw not only that overwhelming disaster, the destruction of one army or the other and its commander, but also saw that the climax of all disasters was victory in civil war—a victory which I indeed dreaded even if won by those whom we had joined. For they were bloodthirsty in their threats even against those who remained inactive, and both your sentiments and my speeches were abhorrent to them. At the present moment, indeed, had our friends been victorious, there would have been no curb upon their rage. For they were already very angry with us, as though we had decided upon any course in view of our own safety which we had not approved in their case also, or as though it were more expedient for the State that they should seek the protection and help even of brute beasts,[a] rather than either die outright, or else remain alive, if not with the best of hopes, at any rate with some.

But, you say, the Republic we live in is in a state 4
of chaos. Of course it is. But let those look to that who have provided themselves with no resources against any vicissitudes of existence. And indeed it was to arrive at just this point that my earlier remarks have run on further than I intended. The fact is that while I have ever deemed you a great man, because amid these tempests you are almost alone in having reached port, and are reaping the priceless harvest of erudition in considering theories and dealing with themes of which the constant

et usus et delectatio est omnibus istorum et actis et voluptatibus anteponenda, equidem hos tuos Tusculanenses dies instar esse vitae puto, libenterque omnibus omnes opes concesserim, ut mihi liceat, vi
5 nulla interpellante, isto modo vivere. Quod nos quoque imitamur, ut possumus, et in nostris studiis libentissime conquiescimus. Quis enim hoc non dederit nobis, ut, cum opera nostra patria sive non possit uti, sive nolit, ad eam vitam revertamur, quam multi docti homines, fortasse non recte, sed tamen multi etiam reipublicae praeponendam putaverunt? Quae igitur studia, magnorum hominum sententia, vacationem habent quamdam publici muneris, iis con-
6 cedente republica cur non abutamur? Sed plus facio, quam Caninius mandavit. Is enim, si quid ego scirem, rogarat, quod tu nescires; ego tibi ea narro, quae tu melius scis, quam ipse, qui narro. Faciam ergo illud, quod rogatus sum, ut eorum, quae temporis huius sint, quae tua interesse audiero, ne quid ignores.

VII

CICERO VARRONI

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Cenabam apud Seium, cum utrique nostrum redditae sunt a te litterae. Mihi vero iam maturum videtur. Nam, quod antea calumniatus sum, indi-

[a] Tyrrell and others take *actis* to be the dat. plur. of *acta*, "sea-side lodgings," arguing that *acta* (plur. of *actum*) cannot mean "engagements."

[b] *i.e.*, "to join Caesar." See ix. 5. 1.

[c] *i.e.*, in suggesting that Varro and he should live together at Tusculum or Cumae. (See ix. 1. 2, 5. 3.)

handling, delightful as it is, cannot but be preferred to all the engagements[a] and amusements of those others—so now I regard these Tusculan days of yours as the very model of what life should be, and I should willingly surrender all I have to all the world, to be allowed to live as you do, uninterrupted by any violence.

And that life I too imitate, so far as I can, and am 5
more than willing to seek repose in our common studies. For who would refuse us the boon of returning, since our country either cannot or will not avail herself of our services, to that manner of life which many learned men—perhaps wrongly, but many anyhow *have* considered preferable even to the interests of the State? If such studies then, in the opinion of distinguished men, can offer a sort of holiday from public duties, why should we, now that the State permits it, fail to make full use of them?

But I am exceeding Caninius's instructions; for 6
he only asked me to write anything *I* knew, but *you* didn't; whereas I am telling you things you know better than I myself do, who am telling you. I shall therefore do just what I have been asked to do—not to leave you in ignorance of anything that bears upon this crisis, which I have been told it is to your interest to know.

VII

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, end of May, 46 B.C.

I was dining with Seius when a letter from you 1
was delivered to each of us. I certainly think it is high time.[b] For as to my former tricky conduct,[c]

cabo malitiam meam. Volebam prope alicubi esse te, si quid bonae salutis, σύν τε δύ' ἐρχομένω. Nunc, cum confecta sunt omnia, dubitandum non est, quin equis viris. Nam, ut audivi de L. Caesare F., mecum ipse: *quid hic mihi faciet patri?* Itaque non desino apud istos, qui nunc dominantur, cenitare. Quid
2 faciam? tempori serviendum est. Sed ridicula missa, praesertim cum sit nihil, quod rideamus.

Africa terribili tremit horrida terra tumultu

Itaque nullum est ἀποπροηγμένον, quod non verear. Sed quod quaeris, quando, qua, quo, nihil adhuc scimus. Istuc ipsum de Baiis, nonnulli dubitant, an per Sardiniam veniat. Illud enim adhuc praedium suum non inspexit: nec ullum habet deterius, sed tamen

[a] Hom. *Il.* x. 224 σύν τε δύ' ἐρχομένω καί τε πρὸ ὃ τοῦ ἐνόησεν. "when two men meet, one gets an idea before the other."

[b] L. Caesar (called *filius* to distinguish him from his father, L. Caesar, consul in 64 B.C.) joined Pompey at the beginning of the Civil War in 49 B.C., and was the bearer of messages backwards and forwards between Pompey and Caesar. In 46 he was proquaestor to Cato at Utica, but after Cato's death persuaded the citizens to surrender to Caesar. He was pardoned by Caesar, but afterwards, possibly, though not probably, at Caesar's instigation, murdered.

[c] Ter. *Andr.* 112, where Simo asks, "if my son Pamphilus weeps thus at the funeral of Chrysis, a comparative stranger, what will he when I, his father, die?" Cicero here apparently applies the quotation to the *pardoning* of L. Caesar by Julius Caesar, and means "if Caesar treats a former foe so well, how will he treat an old friend like me?" Tyrrell, however, takes the words as referring to L. Caesar's supposed *murder* by Caesar, and thinks that Cicero means "If Caesar puts to death an obscure opponent like L. Caesar, what will he do to me, a much more marked enemy?" This perhaps suits the context better, but it makes Cicero assume Caesar's guilt, though it was never proved.

I will now disclose my roguery. I wanted you to be somewhere near in case there was any happy chance of salvation—"two heads" you know.[a] Now, since all is over and done, we must not hesitate to go over "horse and foot." For when I heard about L. Caesar[b] the younger, I said to myself, "What will he do to me, his father?"[c] So I never cease dining with those who have now the upper hand. What am I to do? One must move with the times.

But away with all jests, especially as we have 2
nothing to laugh at:

Africa, country of dread, is aquake with heart-crushing commotion,[d]

so there is every possible "objectionable[e]" factor for me to fear. But as to your question, "When, by what road, and whither?[f]" well, so far I know nothing. As for your own idea about Baiae, some are inclined to think that he is coming through Sardinia[g]; for that estate of his he has up to now never inspected; it is the very worst he possesses,

[d] A line of Ennius. The reference here is to the battles resulting in the deaths of Petreius, Juba, L. Afranius, Metellus Scipio and others.

[e] προηγμένα (unobjectionable) and ἀποπροηγμένα (objectionable) were terms in Stoic philosophy for things neither good nor bad from a moral point of view, but having an appreciable positive or negative value, *e.g.*, the goods and ills of life, apart from virtue or vice. (Zeller, *Stoics*, p. 283.)

[f] *i.e.*, to go and meet Caesar.

[g] Caesar did as a matter of fact come *via* Sardinia and landed in Italy at Ostia. The provinces being regarded as the estates (*praedia*) of the Roman people, Caesar, being now at the head of affairs, was practically owner of them all, including Sardinia, which he had not yet visited, probably on account of its unhealthiness.

non contemnit. Ego omnino magis arbitror per Siciliam Veliam; iam sciemus. Adventat enim Dolabella. Eum puto magistrum fore.

πολλοὶ μαθηταὶ κρείσσονες διδασκάλων.

Sed tamen, si sciam, quid tu constitueris, meum consilium accommodabo potissimum ad tuum. Quare exspecto tuas litteras.

VIII

CICERO VARRONI

In Tusculano, A.U.C. 709.

1 Etsi munus flagitare, quamvis quis ostenderit, ne populus quidem solet, nisi concitatus, tamen ego exspectatione promissi tui moveor, ut admoneam te, non ut flagitem. Misi autem ad te quattuor admonitores non nimis verecundos. Nosti enim profecto os adulescentioris Academiae. Ex ea igitur media excitatos misi, qui metuo ne te forte flagitent; ego autem

[a] The writer of this line is unknown. The rôles of master and pupil will now be reversed, Cicero having taught Dolabella rhetoric.

[b] In this letter Cicero dedicates to Varro his *Academica Posteriora*, a philosophic treatise in four books, a portion of the first of which is still extant. He does so with some trepidation, having apparently offended Varro by giving a leading part in a previous issue of the Dialogue not to him, but to Brutus.

[c] Cicero plays on the technical meaning of *munus* as a "gift to the people" in the form of a gladiatorial exhibition.

[d] Some learned treatise or other, probably the *De lingua Latina*, which Varro had promised to dedicate to Cicero, but after four years had made no progress with the work. See *Att.* xiii. 12. 1.

and yet he does not despise it. Myself, I am far more inclined to think he will come through Sicily to Velia; we shall soon know; for Dolabella is coming home, and I suppose he will act as my schoolmaster;

Pupils full oft are better than their teachers.[a]

But, anyhow, if I know what you have decided to do, I shall adapt my policy to yours in preference to any other. And that is why I eagerly await a letter from you.

VIII

CICERO TO THE SAME[b]

Tusculum, July 11 or 12, 45 B.C.

Although to *demand* a gift,[c] whatever hopes of it 1
have been held out by anybody, is not usual even with the people, unless they are wildly excited, none the less the eager expectation of what you promised[d] moves me to address you a *reminder*, certainly not a *demand*. But I have despatched to you a quartette of "*reminders*,"[e] not overburdened with modesty; for of course you know the effrontery of this somewhat juvenile Academy.[f] It was from the midst of that Academy that I routed them out and sent them; and now I am afraid they may perhaps make a *demand* of you, whereas my instructions were

[e] The four books mentioned in note *b*.

[f] Cicero purposely uses the word *adulescentior* instead of *nova* to express the "young-mannishness" of the New Academy, and the self-assertion which was its characteristic.—Tyrrell.

mandavi, ut rogarent. Exspectabam omnino iamdiu, meque sustinebam, ne ad te prius ipse quid scriberem, quam aliquid accepissem, ut possem te remunerari quam simillimo munere. Sed, cum tu tardius faceres, id est, ut ego interpretor, diligentius, teneri non potui, quin coniunctionem studiorum amorisque nostri, quo possem litterarum genere, declararem. Feci igitur sermonem inter nos habitum in Cumano, cum esset una Pomponius. Tibi dedi partes Antiochinas, quas a te probari intellexisse mihi videbar; mihi sumpsi Philonis. Puto fore, ut, cum legeris, mirere, nos id locutos esse inter nos, quod numquam locuti
2 sumus. Sed nosti morem dialogorum. Posthaec autem, mi Varro, quam plurima, si videtur, et de nobis inter nos; sero fortasse, sed superiorum temporum fortuna reipublicae causam sustineat; haec ipsi praestare debemus. Atque utinam quietis temporibus, atque aliquo, si non bono, at saltem certo statu civitatis, haec inter nos studia exercere possemus! Quamquam tum quidem vel aliae quaepiam rationes honestas nobis et curas et actiones darent;

[a] See p. 206, note *d*.

[b] *i.e.*, by means of a philosophical treatise.

[c] According to Reid (*Acad.* p. 49) no such meeting at Cumae could have taken place between the death of Tullia (mentioned in *Acad. Post.* i. 11) and the writing of the *Academica*. Varro would at once see the impossibility, and Cicero anticipates his surprise at the end of § 1.

[d] Antiochus of Ascalon was the Eclectic philosopher *par excellence*, professing to blend the Stoic, Peripatetic, and Academic philosophies. Philo of Larissa was the head of the New Academy. Cicero attended the lectures of both.—Tyrrell.

merely to make a *request*. Anyhow I have been anxiously expecting this long time, and holding myself in, so as to avoid writing anything to you myself, until I received something[a] from you, in order to return your gift with as like a gift as possible. But seeing that you were unduly slow in writing, in other words (for so I interpret it) unduly painstaking, I could not be held back any longer from making clear to you, in such form of communication[b] as I could, the union of study and affection that binds us together.

I have therefore composed a conversation we had together at my Cuman villa, when Pomponius was with us.[c] I have given you the part of Antiochus,[d] which I think I understood you to approve; for myself I have assumed the part of Philo.[d]

It is very likely, I imagine, that when you have read it, you will be surprised at our having expressed ourselves in that conversation as we have never yet expressed ourselves; but you know the custom in dialogues.

Later on, however, my dear Varro, we shall have 2
full many a conversation, if it so please you, with one another, and about ourselves too; possibly we may have long to wait; but let the fortune of the Republic bear the responsibility for all that is past; the present it lies with us to ensure. And how I wish we were able to prosecute these common studies of ours in tranquil times and under some established form of constitution—not satisfactory, it may be, but at any rate definitely assured. Though even in that case there would be certain other considerations as well to provide us with responsibilities and occupations not without honour. But as it is, what

nunc autem quid est, sine his cur vivere velimus? Mihi vero cum his ipsis vix, his autem detractis ne vix quidem. Sed haec coram, et saepius. Migrationem et emptionem feliciter evenire volo, tuumque in ea re consilium probo. Cura, ut valeas.

IX

DOLABELLA S. D. CICERONI

Caesaris in castris, in Epiro, A.U.C. 706.

1 S.v.g. Et ipse valeo et Tullia nostra recte v. Terentia minus belle habuit, sed certum scio iam convaluisse eam. Praeterea rectissime sunt apud te omnia. Etsi nullo tempore in suspicionem tibi debui venire, partium causa potius, quam tua, tibi suadere, ut te aut cum Caesare nobiscumque coniungeres, aut certe in otium referres, praecipue nunc, iam inclinata victoria, ne possum quidem in ullam aliam incidere opinionem, nisi in eam, in qua scilicet tibi suadere

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[a] To what these words refer is not known.

[b] Publius Cornelius Dolabella, who married Cicero's daughter Tullia after divorcing his wife Fabia in 51 B.C., was one of the most unprincipled men of his age, and a constant cause of anxiety to Cicero, who however professes a great affection for him. He fought for Caesar at Pharsalia (48), in Africa (46), and in Spain (45), and was made consul by him in 44. After Caesar's assassination he went over to the Republican party, but soon deserted that party when Antony gave him the province of Syria. On his way to his province he plundered the cities of Greece and Asia Minor, and at Smyrna murdered Trebonius, the proconsul of Asia. Being declared a public enemy in 43 he was besieged by Cassius at Laodicea, where, to avoid falling into his enemies' hands, he ordered one of his own men to kill him. It is highly probable that Dolabella wrote this letter at the instance of Caesar, who desired Cicero's friendship.

reason have we for wanting to live at all, unless we have these studies? For myself, even with them, I hardly want to live; if I am robbed of them, then not even hardly. But enough of this till we meet, and then we can converse more frequently.

I am anxious that your change of residence and new purchase [a] should turn out happily, and I approve your decision in the matter. Mind you keep well.

IX

DOLABELLA [b] TO CICERO [c]

Caesar's camp in Epirus, May, 48 B.C.

If you are well, I am glad; I am well, and our dear Tullia very well indeed.[d] Terentia has been indisposed, but I am assured beyond doubt that she has now quite recovered. In other respects everything is quite all right at your house.[e] 1

Although there has never been a time when I could reasonably have caused you to suspect that it was not so much in your own interests as in those of our party that I urged you either to join Caesar and the rest of us, or at any rate to return to a life of leisure, still at this moment in particular, when the scales have inclined towards our victory, there is not even a possibility of my incurring any imputation other, of course, than that of giving you, as I believe, such advice as I could not, as a dutiful son-in-law, leave unspoken.

[c] Cicero was now in Pompey's camp, which was being blockaded by Caesar.

[d] s.v.g. = si vales, gaudeo.

[e] Dolabella would have later news of Cicero's family than Cicero himself, as the whole of Italy was in the hands of Caesar's friends.—Watson.

videar, quod pie tacere non possim. Tu autem, mi Cicero, sic haec accipies, ut, sive probabuntur tibi sive non probabuntur, ab optimo certe animo ac deditissimo tibi et cogitata et scripta esse iudices.
2 Animadvertis, Cn. Pompeium nec nominis sui, nec rerum gestarum gloria, neque etiam regum ac nationum clientelis, quas ostentare crebro solebat, esse tutum, et hoc etiam, quod infimo cuique contigit, illi non posse contingere, ut honeste effugere possit, pulso Italia, amissis Hispaniis, capto exercitu veterano, circumvallato nunc denique; quod nescio an nulli umquam nostro acciderit imperatori. Quamobrem, quid aut ille sperare possit aut tu, animum adverte pro tua prudentia; sic enim facillime, quod tibi utilissimum erit, consili capies. Illud autem te peto, ut, si iam ille evitaverit hoc periculum et se abdiderit in classem, tu tuis rebus consulas et aliquando tibi potius, quam cuivis, sis amicus. Satisfactum est iam a te vel officio, vel familiaritati, satisfactum etiam partibus et
3 ei reipublicae, quam tu probabas. Reliquum est, ubi nunc est respublica, ibi simus potius, quam, dum illam veterem sequamur, simus in nulla. Quare velim, mi iucundissime Cicero, si forte Pompeius,

[a] Hence the nicknames applied to Pompey—Sampsiceramus, Hierosolymarius, Arabarches, etc.

You will yourself, I am sure, my dear Cicero, receive the following suggestions, whether they meet with your approval or not, in such a spirit as to believe them to have been conceived and written with the best intentions in the world, and most profound devotion to yourself.

You observe that neither by the glamour of his 2
name and achievements, nor by his patronage of divers kings and peoples, which he used frequently to boast about,[a] has Cn. Pompeius been protected, and that even that boon which any man of the lowest rank can claim—the possibility of escape without dishonour—cannot be granted to him, expelled as he is from Italy, both the Spains lost, his army of veterans captured, and finally himself now beleaguered—a thing that has never happened before, I believe, to any general of ours. Concentrate your mind therefore with your usual sagacity upon the question "What can either he or you have to hope for?" It is thus that you will most easily make the decision which will be to your greatest advantage. Now I have this request to make of you, that if he has by now succeeded in avoiding this danger and hiding himself away in his fleet, you should consult your own interests, and at last be a friend to yourself rather than to the first-comer. You have already satisfied the claims of duty or intimate friendship—call it what you will—and also the claims of your party, and of that form of constitution which had your approval.

It only remains for us to take our stand there, 3
where the new constitution now is, rather than pursue the old, and find ourselves with none. Therefore, my dearest Cicero, should it happen that

pulsus his quoque locis, rursus alias regiones petere cogatur, ut tu te vel Athenas vel in quamvis quietam recipias civitatem. Quod si eris facturus, velim mihi scribas, ut ego, si ullo modo potero, ad te advolem. Quaecumque de tua dignitate ab imperatore erunt impetranda, qua est humanitate Caesar, facillimum erit ab eo tibi ipsi impetrare ; et meas tamen preces apud eum non minimum auctoritatis habituras puto. Erit tuae quoque fidei et humanitatis curare, ut is tabellarius, quem ad te misi, reverti possit ad me, et a te mihi litteras referat.

X

M. CICERO S. D. P. DOLABELLAE

Romae, A.U.C. 708–709.

1 Non sum ausus Salvio nostro nihil ad te litterarum dare ; nec mehercule habebam, quid scriberem, nisi te a me mirabiliter amari ; de quo, etiam nihil scribente me, te non dubitare, certo scio. Omnino mihi magis litterae sunt exspectandae a te, quam a me tibi. Nihil enim Romae geritur, quod te putem scire curare, nisi forte scire vis me inter Niciam nostrum et Vidium iudicem esse. Profert alter (ut opinor) duobus versiculis expensum Niciae, alter Ari-

[a] Salvius was a literary slave of Atticus.

[b] Nicias Curtius of Cos, a grammarian, and an intimate friend of Dolabella.

[c] Vidius produces some acknowledgments of a loan, possibly in Nicias's handwriting, but Nicias declares them to be a forgery. *Versus* can describe a "line" in a legal document as well as a "line of poetry."

Pompey is driven from these places also, and again forced to seek other quarters, I should be glad if you would betake yourself either to Athens or to any other tranquil state you please. If you intend to do so, I should like you to write to me, so that if it is anywise possible, I may wing my way to you.

As to anything which affects your position that will have to be obtained from our Commander-in-Chief, such is Caesar's kindness that your easiest course will be to obtain it from him yourself ; and, after all my own entreaties, I fancy, will have no small influence with him. You too, on your part, honourable and courteous as you are, will see that the letter-carrier I have sent to you may be enabled to return to me, and that he brings me back a letter from you.

X

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, December ? 46 B.C. or early January, 45 B.C.

I had not the courage to give our friend Salvius[a] 1
nothing in the way of a letter to you ; and, upon my word, I did not know what to write, except that I am amazingly fond of you ; and of that, even without my writing anything, I am quite sure that you have no doubt. On the whole I have more reason to expect a letter from you than you from me. For there is nothing going on at Rome which I think you would care to know—unless indeed you would like to know that I am acting as arbitrator between our friend Nicias[b] and Vidius. The latter brings forward, I take it, a record in two little lines[c] of money advanced to Nicias ; and Nicias, a regular

starchus hos ὀβελίζει. Ego, tamquam criticus antiquus, iudicaturus sum, utrum sint τοῦ ποιητοῦ, an
2 παρεμβεβλημένοι. Puto te nunc dicere : *Oblitusne es igitur fungorum illorum, quos apud Niciam? et ingentium squillarum*[1] *cum* σοφίᾳ πεπτικῇ[2]? Quid ergo? tu adeo mihi excussam severitatem veterem putas, ut ne in foro quidem reliquiae pristinae frontis appareant? Sed tamen suavissimum συμβιώτην nostrum praestabo integellum ; nec committam, ut, si ego eum condemnaro, tu restituas, ut[3] habeat Bursa Plancus,
3 apud quem litteras discat. Sed quid ago? cum mihi sit incertum, tranquillone sis animo, an, ut in bello, in aliqua maiuscula cura negotiove versere, labor longius. Cum igitur mihi erit exploratum, te libenter esse risurum, scribam ad te pluribus. Te tamen hoc scire volo, vehementer populum sollicitum fuisse de P. Sullae morte, antequam certum scierit. Nunc quaerere desierunt, quomodo perierit. Satis putant, se scire, quod sciunt. Ego ceteroqui animo aequo fero ; unum vereor, ne hasta Caesaris refrixerit.

[1] *Gronovius*: caulium, culinarum, cochlearum, *are three of many suggested readings*: cularum *M.*
[2] *Amid a welter of conjectures I have adopted Tyrrell's as the most satisfactory*: sophia septimae *M.*
[3] *Wesenberg*: ne *vulg. is unintelligible to me.*

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[a] *i.e.*, marks them as spurious with an obelisk (†), as Aristarchus did the spurious lines in Homer.
[b] For Bursa see note on vii. 2. 2. Cicero appears to mean "I shall do what I can to secure Nicias's acquittal; for if I condemn him, it will only mean *your* reinstating him, and so providing that ignoramus Bursa with the means of education, which would make him more dangerous than ever."
[c] There were various rumours about his death (*cf.* xv. 17. 2). He was a *legatus* of Caesar, and an officer of some distinction; he commanded the right wing at Pharsalia,

Aristarchus, obelizes them,[a] while I, like an ancient critic, have to decide whether they are the poet's lines, or interpolations.

Here I imagine you remarking "Have you then 2
forgotten those marvellous mushrooms we enjoyed at Nicias's table? and those enormous prawns, together with the witty conversation that promotes digestion?" What do you mean? Do you suppose that my old austerity has been so thoroughly shaken out of me that no remains of my former impressive mien are to be seen even in court? But in any case I shall see to it that our most charming *confrère* is decently white-washed; and I shall not be so foolish as to give *you* the opportunity of reinstating him after I have condemned him, so that Bursa Plancus may have someone to teach him his letters.[b]

But what am I doing? Since I do not know 3
definitely whether you are in a tranquil state of mind, or, as often happens in time of war, are engaged in some rather more than usually anxious case or transaction, I am drifting on too far. So when I am absolutely assured that you are ready for a good laugh, I shall write to you at greater length. Still I must tell you this much, that the people were extremely excited about the death of P. Sulla,[c] until they knew it for a fact. Now they have ceased to inquire how he came to die. They think it enough that they know what they do know.[d] For myself anyhow I take it philosophically; my only fear is that Caesar's auctions will have fallen flat.

but became unpopular as a constant purchaser at Caesar's auctions (*hasta Caesaris*) of confiscated property.
[d] *i.e.*, they are quite satisfied to know that such a fellow is dead.

XI

CICERO DOLABELLAE S.

Ficuleae, A.U.C. 709.

1 Vel meo ipsius interitu mallem litteras meas desiderares, quam eo casu, quo sum gravissime afflictus; quem ferrem certe moderatius, si te haberem. Nam et oratio tua prudens, et amor erga me singularis multum levaret. Sed quoniam brevi tempore, ut opinio nostra est, te sum visurus, ita me affectum offendes, ut multum a te possim iuvari; non quo ita sim fractus, ut aut hominem me esse oblitus sim aut fortunae succumbendum putem, sed tamen hilaritas illa nostra et suavitas, quae te praeter ceteros delectabat, erepta mihi omnis est. Firmitatem tamen et constantiam, si modo fuit aliquando in nobis, eamdem
2 cognosces, quam reliquisti. Quod scribis, praelia te mea causa sustinere, non tam id laboro, ut, si qui mihi obtrectent, a te refutentur, quam intellegi cupio, quod certe intellegitur, me a te amari. Quod ut facias, te etiam atque etiam rogo, ignoscasque brevitati litterarum mearum; nam et celeriter una futuros nos arbitror, et nondum satis confirmatus sum ad scribendum.

[a] *i.e.*, the death of his daughter Tullia, the divorced wife of Dolabella. This letter proves that the divorce had caused no breach of friendship between the families.

[b] Dolabella had to defend Cicero against the attacks of Quintus the younger, the son of Cicero's brother Quintus.

XI

CICERO TO THE SAME

Ficulea, end of April, 45 B.C.

I could wish that your missing a letter from me were 1
due to my own death rather than to the calamity [a] which has crushed me with its overwhelming weight—a calamity I should bear more calmly, if I had you here; for your wise words, and your exceptional affection for me too, would go far to alleviate my sorrow. But since I am going to see you, as I suppose, before long, you will find me in such a state of mind that I may easily derive much benefit from your company; not that I am so broken as either to have forgotten that I am but a mortal, or to think it right to bow beneath the blows of Fortune; but anyhow I have been robbed of every particle of that attractive vivacity of mine which used to delight you more than anybody else. For all that, you will discover my strength of mind and resolution (if I ever possessed those virtues) to be just the same as when you left me.

You write that you are taking up the cudgels on 2
my behalf; [b] well, I am not so anxious that my traducers should be confuted by you, as I am desirous that it should be understood—and surely it is understood—that you continue to love me. I beg you again and again to do so, and to pardon so brief a letter; for not only shall we meet, I fancy, very soon, but I am not yet sufficiently recovered to write letters.

XII

CICERO DOLABELLAE

In Puteolano, A.U.C. 709.

1 Gratulor Baiis nostris, siquidem, ut scribis, salubres repente factae sunt; nisi forte te amant, et tibi assentantur, et tamdiu, dum tu ades, sunt oblitae sui. Quod quidem si ita est, minime miror, caelum etiam et terras vim suam, si tibi ita conveniat, dimittere.

2 *Oratiunculam pro Deiotaro*, quam requirebas, habebam mecum, quod non putaram. Itaque eam tibi misi: quam velim sic legas, ut causam tenuem et inopem nec scriptione magno opere dignam. Sed ego hospiti veteri et amico munusculum mittere volui levidense crasso filo, cuiusmodi ipsius solent esse munera. Tu velim animo sapienti fortique sis, ut tua moderatio et gravitas aliorum infamet iniuriam.

XIII

CICERO DOLABELLAE S.

Romae (?), A.U.C. 709.

1 C. Subernius Calenus et meus est familiaris, et Leptae nostri familiarissimi pernecessarius. Is cum

[a] Tetrarch of Galatia, who staunchly supported the Romans in their wars against Mithridates, and was rewarded by the Senate with the title of *rex*, and the addition of Armenia Minor to his dominions. In the Civil War he sided with Pompey, and was present at Pharsalia. In 45 B.C. his grandson Castor accused him of plotting against Caesar's life when he received Caesar in Galatia in 47. He was defended by Cicero, but the result of the trial is unknown.

[b] *i.e.*, not an elaborate artificial piece of composition.

[c] Q. Lepta, a native of Cales in Campania, was *praefectus fabrum* to Cicero in Cilicia in 51 B.C. He joined the Pompeians in the Civil War, and is often mentioned in Cicero's letters.

XII

CICERO TO THE SAME

Pompeii or Formiae, about December 17, 45 B.C.

I congratulate our dear Baiae, if it be true, as you write, that it has suddenly become salubrious; unless of course it is fond of you, and flatters you, and just so long as *you* are present, has forgotten its former tricks; and indeed if that be the case, I am hardly surprised at all that heaven and earth should desist from their usual violent behaviour in consideration of your convenience. 1

My little speech in defence of Deiotarus,[a] which you ask for, I have with me, though I did not think I had; so I am sending it to you, and I should like you to remember as you read it that it is a meagre and poverty-stricken case, and not much worth writing out. But I wanted to send my old host and friend a little present—something lightly woven of rough yarn,[b] such as his own gifts often are. I could wish you to be of a wise and gallant spirit, so that your restrained and dignified demeanour may discredit the wrongdoing of others. 2

XIII

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome (?), January, 45 B.C.

C. Subernius of Cales is not only my friend but also very closely connected with my very intimate friend Lepta.[c] In order to avoid the war, he had 1

vitandi belli causa profectus esset in Hispaniam cum M. Varrone ante bellum, ut in ea provincia esset, in qua nemo nostrum post Afranium superatum bellum ullum fore putarat, incidit in ea ipsa mala, quae summo studio vitaverat. Oppressus est enim bello repentino, quod bellum, commotum a Scapula, ita postea confirmatum est a Pompeio, ut nulla ratione
2 se ab illa miseria eripere posset. Eadem causa fere est M. Plani Heredis, qui est item Calenus, Leptae nostri familiarissimus. Hosce igitur ambo tibi sic commendo, ut maiore cura, studio, sollicitudine animi commendare non possim. Volo ipsorum causa; meque in eo vehementer et amicitia movet et humanitas. Lepta vero cum ita laboret, ut eius fortunae videantur in discrimen venire, non possum ego non aut proxime atque ille, aut etiam aeque laborare. Quapropter, etsi saepe expertus sum, quantum me amares, tamen sic velim tibi persuadeas, id me in hac
3 re maxime iudicaturum. Peto igitur a te, vel, si pateris, oro, ut homines miseros, et fortuna, quam vitare nemo potest, magis, quam culpa, calamitosos, conserves incolumes; velisque per te me hoc muneris cum ipsis amicis hominibus, tum municipio Caleno, quocum mihi magna necessitudo est, tum Leptae,

[a] By Caesar on August 2, 49 B.C. Varro shortly afterwards surrendered to Caesar, but Afranius crossed over to Pompey in Greece. He was present at the battle of Pharsalia in 48 B.C. and that of Thapsus in 46, after which he crossed over to Spain and fought for Pompey under Scapula and Afranius, renegade soldiers of Caesar. Later on, attempting to fly into Mauretania, he was taken prisoner by P. Sittius and put to death.

[b] *calamitosos* refers to the sentence of exile which they had incurred, *cf.* § 4.

proceeded with M. Varro, before it broke out, to Spain, so as to be in a province in which none of us had supposed that there would be any war after the defeat of Afranius,[a] and there he found himself encompassed by those very evils he had striven so anxiously to avoid. For he was overcome by the sudden outbreak of a war, which, having been set in motion by Scapula, was so energetically promoted by Pompey that there was no way in which he could escape from the misery of it.

Practically the same is the case of M. Planius 2
Heres, who is also of Cales, and on very intimate terms with our friend Lepta. These two persons then I commend to your care, and I could not possibly commend them with greater solicitude, enthusiasm, or anxiety. I am interested in them for *themselves*, and profoundly influenced in the matter by the claims not only of friendship, but of humanity also. Since Lepta, however, is in such distress that his fortunes, it seems, are imperilled, I cannot help being very nearly as much distressed as he is, or even quite as much. And for that reason, although I have had frequent experience of the sincerity of your affection, still I would have you assure yourself that I shall base my estimate of it upon this affair more than any other.

I therefore beg of you or, if you permit it, implore 3
you to secure immunity for these unhappy men whose misfortune[b] is due to ill-luck, which no man can elude, rather than to any fault of their own; and not to object to my bestowing, through your hands, this much of a boon, not only upon these friends of mine themselves, but also upon the *municipium* of Cales, to which I am closely bound, and thirdly

4 quem omnibus antepono, dare. Quod dicturus sum, puto equidem non valde ad rem pertinere, sed tamen nihil obest dicere. Res familiaris alteri eorum valde exigua est, alteri vix equestris. Quapropter quando his Caesar vitam sua liberalitate concessit, nec est, quod iis praeterea magno opere possit adimi, reditum, si me tantum amas, quantum certe amas, hominibus confice. In quo nihil est praeter viam longam, quam idcirco non fugiunt, ut et vivant cum suis et moriantur domi. Quod ut enitare contendasque, vel potius ut perficias, (posse enim te, mihi persuasi,) vehementer te etiam atque etiam rogo.

XIV

CICERO DOLABELLAE CONSULI S.

In Pompeiano, A.U.C. 710.

1 Etsi contentus eram, mi Dolabella, tua gloria, satisque ex ea magnam laetitiam voluptatemque capiebam, tamen non possum non confiteri, cumulari me maximo gaudio, quod vulgo hominum opinio socium me ascribat tuis laudibus. Neminem conveni, (convenio autem quotidie plurimos; sunt enim per-

[a] The registered property of a Roman knight (*census equester*) was about 400 *sestertia* (400,000 sesterces).

[b] A Greek named Hierophilus (or Amatius) had been banished by Caesar, but, returning after his death, had set up an altar to him as a god, and a pillar to him as *pater patriae*. Antony had put the Greek to death without trial before the middle of April in this year, and at the end of the month Dolabella destroyed the altar and pillar, scattered

upon Lepta, whom I esteem more highly than anybody.

I do not, it is true, consider what I am about to say 4 particularly relevant to the matter, but still there is no harm in saying it—the property of one of them is exceedingly limited, that of the other hardly what a knight should have.[a] And therefore, seeing that Caesar with characteristic generosity has granted these men their lives, and they have nothing much besides of which they can be deprived, well then, if you love me as much as I am sure you do, clinch the business of these poor fellows' return, the only obstacle to which is the length of the journey; and that they do not shrink from, so that they may both live with their own folks and die at home.

To struggle and strive to this end, or rather to carry the matter through (for of your ability to do so I have no manner of doubt)—that is what I earnestly beg of you again and again to do.

XIV

CICERO TO THE SAME

Pompeii, May 3, 44 B.C.

Though I am well content, my dear Dolabella, with 1 the glory[b] *you* have won, and though the happiness and pleasure I have derived from it is amply sufficient, still I cannot but admit that my greatest and crowning joy is that popular opinion writes me down a partner in your praises. I have met nobody (and I meet ever so many people every day, for numbers of our most

the mob, and punished the worshippers. This is the action of Dolabella so effusively praised by Cicero in this letter.

multi optimi viri, qui valetudinis causa in haec loca veniunt, praeterea ex municipiis frequentes necessarii mei,) quin omnes, cum te summis laudibus ad caelum extulerunt, mihi continuo maximas gratias agant. Negant enim se dubitare, quin tu, meis praeceptis et consiliis obtemperans, praestantissimum te civem et
2 singularem consulem praebeas. Quibus ego, quamquam verissime possum respondere, te, quae facias, tuo iudicio et tua sponte facere, nec cuiusquam egere consilio, tamen neque plane assentior, ne imminuam tuam laudem, si omnis a meis consiliis profecta videatur, neque valde nego. Sum enim avidior etiam, quam satis est, gloriae. Et tamen non alienum est dignitate tua, quod ipsi Agamemnoni, regum regi, fuit honestum, habere aliquem in consiliis capiundis Nestorem; mihi vero gloriosum, te iuvenem consulem florere laudibus, quasi alumnum disciplinae meae.
3 L. quidem Caesar, cum ad eum aegrotum Neapolim venissem, quamquam erat oppressus totius corporis doloribus, tamen ante, quam me plane salutavit, "O mi Cicero," inquit, "gratulor tibi, cum tantum vales apud Dolabellam, quantum si ego apud sororis filium valerem, iam salvi esse possemus. Dolabellae vero tuo et gratulor et gratias ago; quem quidem post te consulem solum possumus vere consulem dicere."

[a] He was probably about thirty-five, though according to Appian (*B.C.* ii. 129) he was made consul through Caesar's influence at the early age of twenty-five; he had never held the praetorship.

[b] Consul in 64 B.C. (father of the L. Caesar mentioned in ix. 7. 2). His sister Julia married M. Antonius Creticus, and was the mother of the Triumvir. After the murder of the Dictator, L. Caesar tried to mediate between the Senate and Antony, and was proscribed by the Triumvirs, but saved by his sister Julia's intercession.

loyal citizens visit these parts for their health's sake, not to mention crowds of my intimate friends from the country towns), I have met none, I say, who, after praising you up to the skies in the most handsome terms, do not go on without a pause to express their warmest gratitude to myself, declaring that they have no doubt that it is because you comply with my instructions and advice that you are proving yourself so excellent a citizen and so incomparable a consul.

Now although I might answer them with perfect 2
truth that whatever you do is done according to your own judgment and on your own initiative, and that you stand in need of no man's advice, still I neither agree absolutely with their assumption, lest I should depreciate your credit, should it appear to be wholly due to my advice, nor do I emphatically deny it; for I am more greedy of glory than is even reasonable. And after all, what was no discredit to that king of kings, Agamemnon himself—the having some Nestor at hand when he formed his plans—is not inconsistent with your own dignity, while to me it is something to boast about that you, a pupil, so to speak, of my own training, should win such fame as consul while still a youth.[a]

Why, L. Caesar himself,[b] when I visited him in his 3
illness at Naples, overpowered as he was with pain in every limb, nevertheless, before he had well greeted me, exclaimed "O my dear Cicero, I congratulate you on your influence with Dolabella; if I only had as much with my sister's son, we might now have been safe. As for your Dolabella, I both congratulate and thank him; indeed, since your year, he is the only man whom we can truly describe

Deinde multa de facto ac de re gesta tua; nihil magnificentius, nihil praeclarius actum umquam, nihil reipublicae salutarius. Atque haec una vox omnium
4 est. A te autem peto, ut me hanc quasi falsam hereditatem alienae gloriae sinas cernere, meque aliqua ex parte in societatem tuarum laudum venire patiare. Quamquam, mi Dolabella (haec enim iocatus sum), libentius omnes meas, si modo sunt aliquae meae, laudes ad te transfuderim, quam aliquam partem exhauserim ex tuis. Nam cum te semper tantum dilexerim, quantum tu intellegere potuisti, tum his tuis factis sic incensus sum, ut nihil umquam in amore fuerit ardentius. Nihil est enim, mihi crede, virtute
5 formosius, nihil pulchrius, nihil amabilius. Semper amavi, ut scis, M. Brutum propter eius summum ingenium, suavissimos mores, singularem probitatem atque constantiam. Tamen Idib. Martiis tantum accessit ad amorem, ut mirarer, locum fuisse augendi in eo, quod mihi iampridem cumulatum etiam videbatur. Quis erat, qui putaret, ad eum amorem, quem erga te habebam, posse aliquid accedere? Tantum accessit, ut mihi nunc denique amare videar, antea
6 dilexisse. Quare quid est, quod ego te horter, ut dignitati et gloriae servias? proponam tibi claros

as a consul." After that he spoke much of your exploit and achievement, saying that it was the most splendid and the most brilliant act ever performed, and the most beneficial to the commonwealth. And that is the one expression on the lips of all.

I beg of you, however, to allow me to enter upon 4
this spurious inheritance, if I may so call it, of glory that belongs to another, and suffer me to be taken into some sort of a partnership in your renown. And yet, my dear Dolabella (my last words were spoken in jest), I would more gladly transfer to you all my renown—so but I have any—rather than draw from you any portion of yours. For not only have I always regarded you as highly as you have yourself been able to realize, but my affection has been so intensified by what you have recently done, that there can have been no warmer ardour in the history of love. Take my word for it, there is nothing fairer, nothing more beautiful, nothing more lovable, than courageous action.

Take M. Brutus; I have always loved him, as you 5
are aware, for his distinguished genius, his fascinating manners, his outstanding integrity and firmness of character; on the Ides of March, however, so much was added to my love as to make me wonder that any room for increase had been found in what I had long regarded as full even to overflowing. Who in the world would have thought that any addition was possible to the love I bore you? Well, so great has been the addition that I seem to love you now for the first time, and to have only liked you before.

What reason is there then for *my* exhorting *you* to 6
obey the dictates of your high position and reputation? Am I, after the usual fashion of those who

viros, quod facere solent qui hortantur. Neminem habeo clariorem, quam te ipsum. Te imitere oportet; tecum ipse certes. Ne licet quidem tibi iam tantis
7 rebus gestis non tui similem esse. Quod cum ita sit, hortatio non est necessaria; gratulatione magis utendum est. Contigit enim tibi, quod haud scio an nemini, ut summa severitas animadversionis non modo non invidiosa, sed etiam popularis esset, et cum bonis omnibus, tum infimo cuique gratissima. Hoc si tibi fortuna quadam contigisset, gratularer felicitati tuae; sed contigit magnitudine cum animi, tum etiam ingeni atque consili. Legi enim contionem tuam. Nihil illa sapientius. Ita pedetentim et gradatim tum accessus a te ad causam facti, tum recessus, ut res ipsa maturitatem tibi animadvertendi omnium
8 concessu daret. Liberasti igitur et Urbem periculo, et civitatem metu; neque solum ad tempus maximam utilitatem attulisti, sed etiam ad exemplum. Quo facto intellegere debes, in te positam esse rempublicam, tibique non modo tuendos, sed etiam ornandos esse illos viros, a quibus initium libertatis profectum est. Sed his de rebus coram plura propediem, ut spero. Tu quando rempublicam nosque

exhort others, to set before you illustrious examples? I find no more illustrious example than yourself. It lies with you to imitate yourself, and be your own rival. So splendid have been your achievements already, that you have not even the right to fall short of your own standard.

Since that is so, exhortation is unnecessary; it is 7
more an opportunity for congratulation. It has been your happy lot (and I fancy it is quite unparalleled) to find the exceptionally rigorous enforcement of your punitive measures, so far from being abhorred, to be even popular, and warmly welcomed by all good citizens and the lowest of the mob alike. Now had it been by some stroke of good luck that you were so fortunate, I should be congratulating you on your felicity only; but no, it is the outcome of a great spirit, combined with great ability and shrewdness; for I have read your address; it is the cleverest thing that ever was. So gradually did you feel your way, now in approaching your case, and again in withdrawing from it, that, as is universally admitted, the psychological moment for taking punitive measures was presented to you by the very facts themselves.

You have then delivered the city from peril and 8
the State from apprehension, and have not only contributed most handsomely to our welfare in the present, but have set a precedent for the future. After this you are bound to see that the constitution depends upon you, and that it is incumbent upon you not only to protect, but to bestow honours upon the men who have initiated an era of liberty.

But more of all this when we meet, which I hope will be at an early date. As for yourself, now that you

conservas, fac ut diligentissime te ipsum, mi Dolabella, custodias.

XV

CICERO PAETO S.

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Duabus tuis epistolis respondebo; uni, quam quatriduo ante acceperam a Zetho; alteri, quam attulerat Phileros tabellarius. Ex prioribus tuis litteris intellexi, pergratam tibi esse curam meam valetudinis tuae, quam tibi perspectam esse gaudeo. Sed, mihi crede, non perinde, ut est reapse, ex litteris perspicere potuisti. Nam cum a satis multis (non enim possum aliter dicere) et coli me videam et diligi, nemo est illorum omnium mihi te iucundior. Nam quod me amas, quod id et iampridem et constanter facis, est id quidem magnum, atque haud scio an maximum, sed tibi commune cum multis; quod tu ipse tam amandus es, tamque dulcis tamque in omni genere iucundus,
2 id est proprie tuum. Accedunt non Attici, sed salsiores, quam illi Atticorum, Romani veteres atque urbani sales. Ego autem (existimes licet quod libet), mirifice capior facetiis, maxime nostratibus, praesertim cum eas videam primum oblitas Latio, tum,

[a] Especially against Antony's plots.
[b] A learned and witty Epicurean, who avoided politics and made a large fortune.
[c] Greek slaves or freedmen, employed as private letter-carriers.

are the preserver of the Republic and of us all, be sure, my dear Dolabella, that you take every possible precaution to protect your own life.[a]

XV

CICERO TO L. PAPIRIUS PAETUS[b]

Rome, middle of October, 46 B.C.

There are two letters of yours which I shall answer 1
—one which I received four days ago from Zethus,[c] the other which was brought me by your letter-carrier Phileros.[c] The former of your letters gave me to understand that you were very grateful for my anxiety about your health,—an anxiety I am glad you now thoroughly appreciate. But, believe me, no letter could have given you a perfectly true appreciation of it. For though I am aware that I am courted and made much of by quite a number of people (I cannot deny it), not one of them all has a greater attraction for me than yourself. For your loving me, and having done so for many years past and uninterruptedly, is indeed a great, and perhaps the greatest possible, compliment, but there are many others who do the same; whereas your being yourself so lovable, so charming, and in every respect so delightful—that is something exclusively your own.

Besides, there is your wit, not Attic, but more 2
pungent than that of Attic writers—the good old city wit of Rome. Now for me (you may think what you please of it) humour, and most of all the home-grown kind, has a wonderful fascination, especially when I see that it was overlaid with the coarseness

cum in urbem nostram est infusa peregrinitas, nunc vero etiam bracatis et Transalpinis nationibus, ut nullum veteris leporis vestigium appareat. Itaque, te cum video, omnes mihi Granios, omnes Lucilios, vere ut dicam, Crassos quoque et Laelios videre videor. Moriar, si praeter te quemquam reliquum habeo, in quo possim imaginem antiquae et vernaculae festivitatis agnoscere. Ad hos lepores cum amor erga me tantus accedat, miraris me tanta perturbatione vale-
3 tudinis tuae tam graviter exanimatum fuisse? Quod autem altera epistola purgas te non dissuasorem mihi emptionis Neapolitanae fuisse, sed auctorem moderationis, urbane; neque ego aliter accepi; intellexi tamen idem, quod his intellego litteris non existimasse te, mihi licere, id quod ego arbitrabar, res has non omnino quidem, sed magnam partem relinquere. Catulum mihi narras et illa tempora. Quid simile? Ne mihi quidem ipsi tunc placebat diutius abesse ab reipublicae custodia. Sedebamus enim in puppi et clavum tenebamus; nunc autem vix est in sentina
4 locus. An minus multa senatus consulta futura putas,

[a] The Gauls of the province of Narbonensis were called *bracati* (breeched), the Gauls of N. Italy *togati*, and the Gauls of the greater part of Gallia *comati* (long-haired). Cicero is evidently scoffing at the admission of Gauls by Caesar not only to the Roman citizenship but even to the Senate.

[b] What Cicero means is that native Roman wit has deteriorated since the incorporation, first of the Latins (*Latium*), and subsequently of Celts, in the Roman community.

[c] Q. Granius was a well-known auctioneer and wag.

[d] Lucilius was the famous poet and satirist.

[e] L. Licinius Crassus and Laelius were not only orators but distinguished for their wit.

[f] Q. Lutatius Catulus, an upright and inflexible aristocrat,

first of Latium, at the time when provincialism poured like a stream into our city, and now with that of trousered and Transalpine clans,[a] so that not a trace of the fine old style of pleasantry is to be seen.[b] And so, whenever I meet you, I seem in very truth to meet all the Granii,[c] all the Lucilii,[d] yes, and the Crassi[e] too and the Laelii.[e] May I die if I can find a single soul left, except yourself, in whom I can recognize any resemblance to the ancient and indigenous jocularity. When to these flashes of wit is added the sincere affection you have for me, do you wonder that I was so frightened to death at your being so prostrated by ill-health?

As to your apology in your second letter to the 3
effect that you did not oppose my purchasing a house at Naples, but only suggested caution, you put it very nicely, and that is just how I took it; at the same time I understood, what I also understand from your last letter, that in your opinion I have no right to do what I thought I might do, that is, to abandon politics here, not indeed altogether, but to a great extent. You quote Catulus[f] against me, and all those times. I fail to see the analogy. Why, I myself had no inclination in those days to withdraw for any length of time from the guardianship of the Republic; for I was seated on the poop, and held the tiller, but now there is hardly room for me where the bilge-water is.[g]

Do you really think that there will be fewer decrees 4

as consul in 78 resisted his seditious colleague Lepidus, and later opposed the bestowing of extraordinary powers upon Pompey. In 63 he voted for the execution of the Catilinarians. He died in 60 B.C.

[g] *i.e.*, in the ship's hold.

si ego sim Neapoli? Romae cum sum et urgeo forum, senatus consulta scribuntur apud amatorem tuum, familiarem meum. Et quidem cum in mentem venit, ponor ad scribendum; et ante audio senatus consultum in Armeniam et Syriam esse perlatum, quod in meam sententiam factum esse dicatur, quam omnino mentionem ullam de ea re esse factam. Atque hoc nolim me iocari putes; nam mihi scito iam a regibus ultimis allatas esse litteras, quibus mihi gratias agant, quod se mea sententia reges appellaverim; quos ego non modo reges appellatos, sed omnino natos
5 nesciebam. Quid ergo est? Tamen, quamdiu hic erit noster hic praefectus moribus, parebo auctoritati tuae; cum vero aberit, ad fungos me tuos conferam. Domum si habebo, in denos dies singulos sumptuariae legis dies conferam. Sin autem minus invenero, quod placeat, decrevi habitare apud te; scio enim me nihil tibi gratius facere posse. Domum Sullanam desperabam iam, ut tibi proxime scripsi; sed tamen non abieci. Tu velim, ut scribis, cum fabris eam perspicias. Si enim nihil est in parietibus aut in tecto viti, cetera mihi probabuntur.

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[a] Generally supposed to be Caesar, but Cicero would hardly have called him his *familiaris*. Tyrrell and Purser are probably right in suggesting that it is Balbus, who was Caesar's agent.

[b] An obvious sneer at the servility of the Senate and the new office (*praefectus moribus* for three years) given to Caesar after his African victory.

[c] Paetus, being an epicure, took advantage of vegetables not being included in Caesar's sumptuary law. For this and what follows see vii. 26. 2.

[d] For Sulla see note on ix. 10. 2.

of the Senate, if I am at Naples? Here am I at Rome and in constant attendance at the Forum, and all the while decrees of the Senate are being drafted at the house of my dear friend who dotes upon you.[a] Indeed, whenever it occurs to him, my name is put down as a witness to the drafting, and I am informed that some decree of the Senate alleged to have been passed in accordance with my vote has found its way to Armenia and Syria, before the matter has ever been mentioned at all. And pray don't think that this is merely a joke on my part; I would have you know that I have ere now received letters from kings in the uttermost parts of the world, in which they thank me for having given them by my vote the title of king, I being in ignorance not only of their having been so entitled, but of their ever having been born.

What of it then? Of course as long as our friend, 5
this "Minister of Morals,"[b] is here, I shall follow your advice, but when he is away, then hie for your mushrooms![c] If I have a house there, I shall make the sumptuary law's allowance for one day last me for ten. But if I fail to find one to suit me, I have decided to quarter myself upon you; I am sure I could do nothing that would give you greater pleasure. I am now beginning to despair of Sulla's house,[d] as I told you in my last; still I have not quite abandoned the idea. I should like you, as you suggest in your letter, to take the builders with you and inspect it. If there is no fault to be found with the walls or the roof, everything else will meet with my approval.

XVI

CICERO PAPIRIO PAETO S.

In Tusculano, A.U.C. 708.

1 Delectarunt me tuae litterae, in quibus primum amavi amorem tuum, qui te ad scribendum incitavit verentem, ne Silius suo nuntio aliquid mihi sollicitudinis attulisset; de quo et tu mihi antea scripseras, bis quidem eodem exemplo, facile ut intellegerem te esse commotum; et ego tibi accurate rescripseram, ut quo modo in tali re atque tempore aut liberarem
2 te ista cura aut certe levarem. Sed quoniam proximis quoque litteris ostendis, quantae tibi curae sit ea res, sic, mi Paete, habeto: quidquid arte fieri potuerit (non enim iam satis est consilio pugnare; artificium quoddam excogitandum est); sed tamen quidquid elaborari aut effici potuerit ad istorum benevolentiam conciliandam et colligendam, summo studio me consecutum esse; nec frustra, ut arbitror. Sic enim color, sic observor ab omnibus iis, qui a Caesare diliguntur, ut ab iis me amari putem. Nam etsi non facile diiudicatur amor verus et fictus, nisi aliquod incidat eiusmodi tempus, ut, quasi aurum igni, sic benevolentia fidelis periculo aliquo perspici possit, cetera sunt signa communia; sed ego uno utor argumento, quamobrem me ex animo vereque arbitrer

[a] Probably the Silius who was propraetor of Bithynia in 51 B.C., to whom xiii. 61 is addressed. Some message of his had made Cicero uneasy about Caesar's feelings towards himself.

[b] To ensure Cicero's getting the letter, Paetus had written it out twice, giving each copy to a different letter-carrier. Letter-carriers were not always to be trusted. (*Cf.* iv. 4. 1.)

XVI

CICERO TO THE SAME

Tusculum, early in July, 46 B.C.

I was delighted with your letter, in which I loved most of all the love that prompted you to write because you feared that Silius[a] had caused me no little anxiety by his message, about which you had yourself written to me before—twice indeed in identical terms,[b] so that I could easily see that you were much troubled; yes, and I too had taken pains with my reply to you, so that I might, seeing how the matter stands, considering the circumstances and the time, free you from your anxiety, or at any rate alleviate it. 1

But since your last letter also shows what anxiety the matter is causing you, let me assure you, my dear Paetus, of this—that whatever could have been done by strategy (for it is no longer enough to fight with sound judgment; one has to think out some sort of stratagem), but anyhow whatever could have been worked out or accomplished in the way of winning or harvesting a store of goodwill among your friends, all that I have by my most devoted efforts achieved, and, as I take it, to some purpose. For such is the regard, such the deference shown me by all Caesar's favourites, that I believe I hold their affection. For though it is not easy to discriminate between true and false affection, unless some such crisis occurs as may enable the sincerity of a friendship to be tested by some special danger, just as gold is tested by fire, yet there are all the ordinary indications of goodwill; but I employ one particular proof to convince me of the heartfelt reality of their affection—the fact 2

diligi, quia et nostra fortuna ea est et illorum, ut simu-
3 landi causa non sit. De illo autem, quem penes est omnis potestas, nihil video, quod timeam; nisi quod omnia sunt incerta, cum a iure discessum est; nec praestari quidquam potest, quale futurum sit, quod positum est in alterius voluntate, ne dicam libidine. Sed tamen eius ipsius nulla re a me offensus est animus. Est enim adhibita in ea re ipsa summa a nobis moderatio. Ut enim olim arbitrabar, esse meum libere loqui, cuius opera esset in civitate libertas, sic, ea nunc amissa, nihil loqui, quod offendat aut illius aut eorum, qui ab illo diliguntur, voluntatem. Effugere autem si vellem nonnullorum acute aut facete dictorum offensionem, fama ingeni mihi esset
4 abicienda; quod si possem, non recusarem. Sed tamen ipse Caesar habet peracre iudicium; et, ut Servius, frater tuus, quem litteratissimum fuisse iudico, facile diceret, *hic versus Plauti non est, hic est*, quod tritas aures haberet notandis generibus poetarum et consuetudine legendi, sic audio Caesarem, cum volumina iam confecerit ἀποφθεγμάτων, si quod afferatur ad eum pro meo, quod meum non sit, reicere solere; quod eo nunc magis facit, quia vivunt mecum

[a] This was Servius Claudius, on whose death in 60 B.C. Paetus gave Cicero his library. Suetonius (*Grammat.* 3) speaks highly of his learning.

that not only my own circumstances but theirs also are such to afford no reason for pretence.

To speak, however, of him who has all the power 3
in his hands, I see nothing to fear there, except that when once a departure has been made from law and order, one can be positive of nothing; and as to what shape any policy may assume in a future which depends upon the wish, not to say the whim, of another, nothing can be guaranteed. Anyhow his own personal feelings have not been hurt in any respect by me; indeed, in that particular regard I have exercised the utmost self-restraint; for just as formerly I used to think that I, by whose exertions freedom still existed in the State, had the right to speak freely, so, now that that freedom has been lost, I do not think I have any right to say a single word unduly contravening either his or his favourites' wishes. If, however, I desired to escape the odium incurred by certain clever or brilliant *mots* of mine, I should have to renounce my reputation as a wit; and that I should have no objection to doing, if I could.

But, after all, Caesar himself is gifted with an 4
extremely acute faculty of discernment; and just as your cousin Servius,[a] whom I consider to have been a most distinguished man of letters, could have said without hesitation "Plautus never wrote *this* verse, but he did write *this*," because he had acquired a critical ear by noting the different styles of poets and constantly perusing them, in the same way I am told that Caesar, now that he has completed his volumes of *bons mots*, if anything is put before him as being mine when it is not, habitually rejects it; and now he does so more than ever, since his intimates spend all their time with me, I may say,

fere quotidie illius familiares. Incidunt autem in sermone vario multa, quae fortasse, illis cum dixi, nec illitterata nec insulsa esse videantur. Haec ad illum cum reliquis actis perferuntur; ita enim ipse mandavit. Sic fit, ut, si quid praeterea de me audiat, non audiendum putet. Quamobrem *Oenomao* tuo nihil
5 utor, etsi posuisti loco versus Accianos. Sed quae est invidia? aut quid mihi nunc invideri potest? Verum fac esse omnia. Sic video philosophis placuisse iis, qui mihi soli videntur vim virtutis tenere, nihil esse sapientis praestare, nisi culpam; qua mihi videor dupliciter carere, et quod ea senserim, quae rectissima fuerunt, et quia, cum viderem praesidi non satis esse ad ea obtinenda, viribus certandum cum valentioribus non putarim. Ergo in officio boni civis certe non sum reprehendendus. Reliquum est, ne quid stulte, ne quid temere dicam aut faciam contra potentes: id quoque puto esse sapientis. Cetera vero, quid quisque me dixisse dicat, aut quomodo ille accipiat aut qua fide mecum vivant ii, qui me assidue
6 colunt et observant, praestare non possum. Ita fit, ut et consiliorum superiorum conscientia et praesentis temporis moderatione me consoler, et illam Accii

* The title of a play by Accius, some lines of which Paetus had quoted by way of warning Cicero against exciting Caesar's hostility by sarcastic remarks, however witty.

everyday. Now in the course of desultory conversation many a casual remark is made which possibly at the moment I made it strikes them as lacking neither literary polish nor pungency. These remarks are reported to him with any other news of the day, for such were his own instructions. The result is that if anything over and above that reaches his ears about me, he does not think it worth listening to. Your *Oenomaus* * therefore does not apply to me, though you quoted Accius's lines appositely enough.

But what is this envy? Or in what respect can 5
I now be the object of envy at all? Yet suppose I were so in every respect. I observe that, in the opinion of those philosophers who alone appear to me to grasp the true meaning of virtue, it is not the part of a wise man to guarantee anything whatever, except as regards wrongdoing; and of that I fancy I am innocent in a double sense, firstly, because my convictions were perfectly correct, and secondly, because, when I saw that we were not sufficiently supported to maintain them, I did not think we should continue to contend with those who are more powerful. As regards the duty of a good citizen therefore I certainly deserve no censure. It remains for me to say or do nothing foolish or rash against those in power; that also I deem to be the part of a wise man. As to anything else, however—what so and so says I said, or how Caesar takes it, or how far those are honest in their association with me, who are so assiduous in showing me courtesy and attention
—of all that I can give no certain assurance. So it 6
comes about that I comfort myself with the consciousness of my earlier aspirations, and the thought of my self-restraint at the present time; and I apply

similitudinem non iam ad invidiam, sed ad fortunam transferam, quam existimo levem et imbecillam ab animo firmo et gravi tamquam fluctum a saxo frangi oportere. Etenim cum plena sint monumenta Graecorum, quemadmodum sapientissimi viri regna tulerint vel Athenis vel Syracusis, cum, servientibus suis civitatibus, fuerint ipsi quodammodo liberi, ego me non putem tueri meum statum sic posse, ut neque offendam animum cuiusquam, nec frangam dig-
7 nitatem meam? Nunc venio ad iocationes tuas, quoniam tu secundum *Oenomaum* Accii, non, ut olim solebat, Atellanam, sed, ut nunc fit, mimum introduxisti. Quem tu mihi pompilum, quem thynnarium[1] narras? quam tyrotarichi patinam? Facilitate mea ista ferebantur antea; nunc mutata res est. Hirtium ego et Dolabellam dicendi discipulos habeo, cenandi magistros. Puto enim, te audisse, si forte ad vos omnia perferuntur, illos apud me declamitare, me apud eos cenitare. Tu autem, quod mihi bonam copiam eiures, nihil est; tum enim, cum rem habebas, quaesticulis te faciebat attentiorem; nunc, cum tam aequo animo bona perdas, non est quod[2] non eo sis consilio, ut, cum me hospitio recipias, aestimationem

[1] *Rutilius*: denarium *codd.*, "*ninepence*," i.e. "*a ninepenny dinner*."

[2] non est quod *is Lehmann's insertion, adopted by Tyrrell.*

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[a] That "jealousy wears down its victim as a rushing torrent of water erodes a cliff."

[b] He refers to Socrates at Athens under the Thirty, and Plato at Syracuse under Dionysius.

[c] Since Sulla's time the *fabulae Atellanae* (light Oscan plays, after the fashion of Greek satiric dramas, so called from Atella in Campania, whence they originated) were generally superseded by *mimi*, a coarser form of drama, or farce.

Accius's well-known simile[a] no longer to jealousy, but transfer its application to fortune, which, fickle and frail as it is, ought, I feel sure, to be broken by a sturdy and staunch spirit even as a wave is by a rock. For, seeing that the annals of the Greek abound in examples of how the wisest of men tolerated tyrannies either at Athens or at Syracuse,[b] when they themselves enjoyed a certain measure of liberty, while their countries were in a state of slavery, why should I not assume that I can maintain my position without hurting any man's feelings, or impairing my own dignity?

And now I come to your jocularities, since you now, 7
following the lead of Accius's *Oenomaus*, have staged not, as he used formerly to do, an Atellan[c] play, but, after the modern fashion, a farce. What is this pilot-fish you prate to me about, and this tunny, and this platter of smoked-fish-and-cheese?[d] With my usual good nature I put up with your nonsense in the old days; now it is quite another story. Yes, Hirtius and Dolabella may be my pupils in oratory, but they are my teachers in the art of dining. For I imagine you have been told, since probably you and your friends get all the news that is going, that they declaim at my house, and I dine at theirs. But as for your solemn affidavit that you are insolvent, it amounts to nothing. For even when you were a man of property, it made you more close-fisted than ever in seeking petty profits; but now that you are taking the loss of your property so cheerfully, there is no reason why you should not look upon the transaction in this way—imagine that, in receiving

[d] He playfully accuses Paetus of trying to put him off with cheap and meagre fare.

te aliquam putes accipere; etiam haec levior est plaga
8 ab amico, quam a debitore. Nec tamen eas cenas quaero, ut magnae reliquiae fiant; quod erit, magnificum sit et lautum. Memini te mihi Phameae cenam narrare. Temperius fiat, cetera eodem modo. Quod si perseveras me ad matris tuae cenam revocare, feram id quoque. Volo enim videre animum, qui mihi audeat ista, quae scribis, apponere, aut etiam polypum Miniati Iovis similem. Mihi crede, non audebis. Ante meum adventum fama ad te de mea nova lautitia veniet; eam extimesces. Neque est, quod in promulside spei ponas aliquid; quam totam sustuli. Solebam enim antea debilitari oleis et lucani-
9 cis tuis. Sed quid haec loquimur? Liceat modo isto venire. Tu vero (volo enim abstergere animi tui metum) ad tyrotarichum antiquum redi. Ego tibi unum sumptum afferam, quod balneum calfacias opor-

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[a] According to one of Caesar's laws, passed in 49, to relieve the financial situation, creditors were compelled to take in payment the lands of their debtors at the price they would have fetched before the Civil War, that price being estimated by arbitrators, the lands so valued being called *aestimationes*; this involved an average loss to creditors, according to Suetonius, of 25 per cent. See note on v. 20. 9.

The gist of the whole passage from *Tu autem* seems to be this: "It is no good your trying to get out of entertaining me properly by pretending to 'file your petition.' Why, when you were well off, you were stingier than ever. If you have really suffered by Caesar's financial law (it does not seem to have affected your spirits very much), why not regard the expense of entertaining me as a mere item in your bankruptcy (?), and regarding it as an *aestimatio* (see above), a 'composition' (as Shuckburgh translates it) offered you by your debtors? And after all I am not your debtor, but your friend."

[b] Probably the uncle of Tigellius. See vii. 24. 2.

me as a guest, you are accepting a sort of "composition," and even that blow is not so heavy coming from a friend as it would be from a debtor.[a]

But after all I don't want the sort of dinners that 8
entail a quantity of broken meats; whatever it is, let it be of a high class and delicate quality. I remember your telling me about Phamea's[b] dinner; well, let yours be at an earlier hour, but otherwise just the same. But even if you persist in putting me off with such a dinner as your good mother[c] gives, I shall not refuse it. All I want is to see the man with a spirit courageous enough to set before me such fare as you describe, or even a squid cooked to look like Jupiter Miniatus.[d] Believe me you will never have the courage. Before I arrive the fame of my new luxuriousness will reach you, and a fine fright it will give you. And it is no good your putting any hope in your *hors-d'œuvre*[e]; I have done away with all that; for in the old days your olives and sausages used to take the edge off my appetite.

But why all this babble? Let me only get to you! 9
But really—for I would wipe away all fear from your mind—you may fall back upon good old smoked-fish-and-cheese. There is one expense I shall put you to—you will have to heat a bath for me; every-

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[c] Who evidently, like John Gilpin's wife, "had a frugal mind."

[d] On certain festivals, and especially at triumphal banquets, earthenware figures of Jupiter were introduced stained with red-lead or cinnabar. The squid or polypus would have to be cooked in some red sauce to give it that colour.

[e] The *promulsis*, the first course of the Roman dinner, consisted of eggs, olives, salt-fish, sausages (*lucanica*), etc. The drink was generally *mulsum*, mead, which gave the course its name.

tebit; cetera more nostro; superiora illa lusimus. De villa Seliciana et curasti diligenter et scripsisti facetissime. Itaque puto me praetermissurum. Salis enim satis est, saniorum[1] parum. Vale.

XVII

CICERO L. PAPIRIO PAETO S.

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Non tu homo ridiculus es, qui, cum Balbus noster apud te fuerit, ex me quaeras, quid de istis municipiis et agris futurum putem? quasi aut ego quidquam sciam, quod iste nesciat; aut, si quid aliquando scio, non ex isto soleam scire. Immo vero, si me amas, tu fac, ut sciam, quid de nobis futurum sit; habuisti enim in tua potestate, ex quo vel ex sobrio, vel certe ex ebrio scire posses. Sed ego ista, mi Paete, non quaero; primum quia de lucro prope iam quadriennium vivimus; si aut hoc lucrum est, aut haec vita, superstitem reipublicae vivere; deinde, quod scire quoque mihi videor, quid futurum sit. Fiet enim quodcumque volent, qui valebunt; valebunt autem semper arma. Satis igitur nobis esse debet, quidquid conceditur. Hoc si qui pati non potuit, mori debuit.

[1] sannionum *D*, i.e. "*too few jokers*" (*to enjoy the jest*).

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[a] Probably a villa in Naples belonging to Selicius, a banker.

[b] Lit. "There has been plenty of wit (in this letter), but not enough sober sense," *i.e.* let us stop joking and come to business. D has *sannionum*, "buffoons," meaning, I suppose, "there are plenty of jokes one might make about the matter, but few jokers to appreciate them."

[c] See ix. 19.

thing else for me as of old. What I wrote above was nothing but a joke.

As to Selicius's villa[a] you have acted with scrupulous care, and written with infinite wit; so I think I shall let the matter drop. We have been witty enough, now let us be wise.[b]

XVII

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, late in August or early in September, 46 B.C.

Aren't you an absurd fellow to ask me what I think is going to happen about those municipal towns and lands, when our friend Balbus[c] has been staying at your house? As though *I* should know anything which *he* doesn't know, or as though, if ever I do know anything, it is not he who always tells me. On the contrary, as you love me, make it *your* business to let me know what is likely to happen to us; you have had a man at your mercy who might have told you when he was sober, or at any rate when he was mellow. But, my dear Paetus, I am not inquiring into those matters, firstly, because for the last four years or so the very fact of our being alive has been so much clear gain, if indeed it be a gain, or if it be life at all, to be living after the Republic has passed away; secondly, because I am inclined to think that I really know what is going to happen. For things will go just as those choose who have the power, and power will always be with the sword. We ought therefore to be satisfied with whatever is granted us; anyone who could not put up with that, ought to have died. 1

2 Veientem quidem agrum et Capenatem metiuntur. Hoc non longe abest a Tusculano. Nihil tamen timeo; fruor, dum licet; opto, ut semper liceat. Si id minus contigerit, tamen, quando ego, vir fortis idemque philosophus, vivere pulcherrimum duxi, non possum eum non diligere, cuius beneficio id consecutus sum. Qui si cupiat esse rempublicam, qualem fortasse et ille vult et omnes optare debemus, quid[1] faciat tamen, non habet; ita se cum multis colligavit.

3 Sed longius progredior; scribo enim ad te. Hoc tamen scito, non modo me, qui consiliis non intersum, sed ne ipsum quidem principem scire, quid futurum sit. Nos enim illi servimus, ipse temporibus. Ita nec ille, quid tempora postulatura sint, nec nos, quid ille cogitet, scire possumus. Haec tibi antea non rescripsi, non quo cessator esse solerem, praesertim in litteris; sed cum explorati nihil haberem, nec tibi sollicitudinem ex dubitatione mea, nec spem ex affirmatione afferre volui. Illud tamen ascribam, quod est verissimum, me his temporibus adhuc de isto periculo nihil audisse. Tu tamen pro tua sapientia debebis optare optima, cogitare difficillima, ferre quaecumque erunt.

[1] quid *MSS.*: qua id, "*in what way to effect it*," *is suggested by Tyrrell.*

[a] *i.e.*, Caesar's officials.

[b] Capena was in Etruria, near Mount Soracte, 20 or 30 miles from Tusculum.

[c] Who know more than I do.

[d] That the lands at Naples would be confiscated.

It is true that they [a] are surveying the lands about Veii and Capena,[b] and that is not very far from my Tusculan estate. Still I feel no alarm; I enjoy my property while I may, and I pray that I always may. If it turns out otherwise, in any case, since I (hero and philosopher in one as I am!) have come to the conclusion that of all things the most beautiful is life, cannot but regard with affection the man by whose grace I have been granted it. And if it be his desire that there should be a commonwealth, such as possibly both he wishes and we all ought to pray for, none the less he does not know what to do, so inextricably has he tied himself up with his multitude of counsellors 2

But I am running on too far; for it is to you[c] that I am writing. Of this much, however, you may rest assured, that not only do I, who take no part in their counsels, not know, but even the chief himself does not know what is going to happen. While we are his slaves, he is himself the slave of circumstances. It follows that neither can he possibly know what the circumstances will demand of him, nor we, what he has in his mind. 3

If I did not send you this reply before, it is not that I am often a laggard, especially in correspondence, but not having anything certain to go upon, it was no wish of mine either to cause you anxiety by my indecision, or give you grounds for hope by any positive assertion. This much, however, I must add, and it is the absolute truth, that as matters stand up to the present, I have heard nothing of the danger you mention.[d] Be that as it may, it will be your duty, with characteristic wisdom, to hope for the best, to contemplate the worst, and to bear whatever happens.

XVIII

CICERO S. D. L. PAPIRIO PAETO

In Tusculano, A.U.C. 708.

1 Cum essem otiosus in Tusculano, propterea quod discipulos obviam miseram, ut eadem me quam maxime conciliarent familiari suo, accepi tuas litteras, plenissimas suavitatis; ex quibus intellexi probari tibi meum consilium, quod, ut Dionysius tyrannus, cum Syracusis expulsus esset, Corinthi dicitur ludum aperuisse, sic ego, sublatis iudiciis, amisso regno
2 forensi, ludum quasi habere coeperim. Quid quaeris? me quoque delectat consilium; multa enim consequor; primum, id quod maxime nunc opus est, munio me ad haec tempora. Id cuiusmodi sit, nescio; tantum video, nullius adhuc consilia me huic anteponere; nisi forte mori melius fuit. "In lectulo?" Fateor; sed non accidit. "In acie?" Non fui. Ceteri quidem, Pompeius, Lentulus tuus, Scipio, Afranius, foede perierunt. At Cato praeclare. Iam istuc quidem, cum volemus, licebit; demus modo operam, ne tam necesse nobis sit, quam illi fuit; id
3 quod agimus. Ergo hoc primum. Sequitur illud; ipse melior fio, primum valetudine, quam, intermissis

[a] He refers jokingly to Hirtius and Dolabella. See ix. 16.

[b] Caesar, on his return from his victory in Africa.

[c] Dionysius the younger. Cicero seems to be the earliest authority for the story; it is repeated by Plutarch and Justin.

[d] M. Cato, who committed suicide at Utica (hence his surname Uticensis) after Caesar's victory at Thapsus in 46 B.C.

XVIII

CICERO TO THE SAME

Tusculum, about July 23, 46 B.C.

I was at my Tusculum villa enjoying a holiday, 1
because I had sent my pupils[a] to meet their particular friend,[b] so that they might at the same time win his favour as far as possible for myself too, when I received your letter so brimful of charm. I gathered from it that you approve my scheme—I mean my having begun, now that the law-courts have been abolished, and I am no longer king of the Forum, to keep a kind of school, just as Dionysius the tyrant,[c] after his expulsion from Syracuse, is alleged to have opened a school at Corinth.

There is no more to be said. I too am delighted 2
with the scheme, which gives me several advantages; in the first place—and this is just now most necessary—I am protecting myself against these dangerous days. What such protection may be worth, I do not know. I only see that nobody so far has proposed any plan that I prefer to this—unless perhaps it would have been better to die. "In my bed?" Yes, I agree; but it has not so happened. "On the field of battle?" I was not there. The others, it is true—Pompey, your friend Lentulus, Scipio, Afranius,—all died miserably. But Cato,[d] you will say, died gloriously. Well, it is open to me to do likewise whenever I so please, provided only I do my best to prevent its being as necessary for me to do so as it was for him; and that is just what I am doing. That then is the first advantage. The next is this—I 3
myself am getting better, first as regards my health,

exercitationibus, amiseram; deinde ipsa illa, si qua fuit in me, facultas orationis, nisi me ad has exercitationes retulissem, exaruisset. Extremum illud est, quod tu nescio an primum putes. Plures iam pavones confeci, quam tu pullos columbinos. Tu istic te Hateriano iure delectas, ego me hic Hirtiano. Veni igitur, si vir es, et disce iam προλεγομένας, quas
4 quaeris; etsi sus Minervam. Sed quando, ut video, aestimationes tuas vendere non potes neque ollam denariorum implere, Romam tibi remigrandum est. Satius est hic cruditate, quam istic fame. Video te bona perdidisse; spero idem istic familiares tuos. Actum igitur de te est, nisi provides. Potes mulo isto, quem tibi reliquum dicis esse, quoniam cantherium comedisti, Romam pervehi. Sella tibi erit in ludo, tamquam hypodidascalo, proxima; eam pulvinus sequetur.

XIX

CICERO S. D. L. PAPIRIO PAETO

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Tamen a malitia non discedis? Tenuiculo apparatu significas Balbum fuisse contentum. Hoc videris

[a] *i.e.*, "demolished," "consumed."
[b] Probably some lawyer whom Paetus had engaged.
[c] Cicero plays on the two meanings of *ius*, "legal procedure" and "sauce," as he had many years before in 2 *Verr.* i. 121 ("ius Verrinum"). I have here repeated the traditional translation of the Latin pun.
[d] The Latin is a translation of ὗς Ἀθηνᾶν sc. διορθοῖ, said of an ignoramus correcting an expert.
[e] For *aestimationes* see note on *Ep.* 16. 7 above.
[f] "And so be unable to detain you there by their hospitality."

which I had lost owing to the exercise of my lungs having been interrupted; secondly, whatever faculty of eloquence I may have possessed, had I not taken to this form of exercise again, would have utterly dried up. Last comes this—though you would probably put it first—that I have now disposed of[a] more peacocks than you have of pigeon-poults. While you over there are revelling in Haterius's[b] saws, I over here am revelling in Hirtius's sauce.[c] Come then, if you are half a man, and let me at once teach you the first principles, since you ask for them, though it is but "teaching one's grandmother."[d]

But since, as I see, you are unable to find buyers 4
for your valuation-lands[e] or to fill your money-jar with shillings, you must migrate back to Rome. It is better to die of indigestion here than to die of starvation where you are. I see that you have lost your money, and I hope your friends in Naples have done the same.[f] So, unless you make provision for yourself, it is all up with you. You can ride all the way to Rome on that mule of yours which you declare is all that is left to you, now that you have devoured your poor pony.[g] There will be a chair for you at my school next to my own, as under-master; a cushion[h] will come next.

XIX

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, latter half of August, 46 B.C.

So, do what I will, you persist in your mischief- 1
making! You drop a hint that Balbus was satisfied with a miserably meagre table, meaning, I suppose,

[g] *i.e.*, sold it to pay for your dinners.
[h] On which to recline at the subsequent banquet.

dicere, cum reges tam sint continentes, multo magis consulares esse oportere. Nescis me ab illo omnia expiscatum; recta eum a porta domum meam venisse. Neque hoc admiror, quod non suam potius, sed illud, quod non ad suam. Ego autem primis tribus verbis, "Quid noster Paetus?" At ille ad-
2 iurans, "Nusquam se umquam libentius." Hoc si verbis assecutus es, aures ad te afferam non minus elegantes; sin autem obsonio, peto a te, ne pluris esse balbos, quam disertos putes. Me quotidie aliud ex alio impedit. Sed, si me expediero, ut in ista loca venire possim, non committam, ut te sero a me certiorem factum putes.

XX

CICERO PAETO

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Dupliciter delectatus sum tuis litteris, et quod ipse risi, et quod te intellexi iam posse ridere. Me autem a te, ut scurram velitem, malis oneratum esse non moleste tuli. Illud doleo, in ista loca venire me, ut constitueram, non potuisse. Habuisses enim non hospitem, sed contubernalem. At quem virum! non

[a] *i.e.*, friends of Caesar. But *reges* is also commonly used, "great folk."

[b] There is an obvious innuendo in the change of "suam" to "ad suam."

[c] Sc., "entertain you properly?"

[d] The adj. *balbus* = "stuttering."

[e] There is probably a double meaning here, *mălis* meaning "abuse," and *mālis* "apples," the latter being often used as missiles to hurl at the heads of the professional jester (*scurra*) at a banquet.

[f] Lit., one who shared the same tent on military service.

that since kings[a] are so abstemious, much more does it behove mere consulars to be so. You don't know that I fished the whole story out of him; that he came straight from the city gate to my house; and I am not surprised at his not rather going to his own *sweet hearth*, but I am at his not rather going to his own *sweet heart*.[b] Well, my first three words were "Did our Paetus——?[c]" and he answered with an oath that he had never enjoyed himself more. If you achieved this by your repartee, I shall bring 2
you an ear quite as sensitively attuned; if by your rich repasts, I beg you not to value the company of stammerers[d] more highly than that of men of eloquence. As for me, I am hindered day after day by one thing after another. But once I have so far disengaged myself as to be able to visit your neighbourhood, I shall not be so tactless as to make you think I have given you too short notice

XX

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, early August, 46 B.C.

I was doubly delighted with your letter—because 1
I laughed myself, and because I saw that you could now laugh too. And as to your having overwhelmed me with a volley of vituperation,[e] as though I were some light-armed skirmisher in a rally of wits, it did not annoy me in the least. What I am troubled about is not having been able to come to your neighbourhood as I had intended; for you would have had not so much a guest, as a mess-mate.[f] But what a terrible person! Not the man you so often

eum, quem tu es solitus promulside conficere. Integram famem ad ovum affero. Itaque usque ad assum vitulinum opera perducitur. Illa mea, quae solebas antea laudare, " o hominem facilem ! o hospitem non gravem ! " abierunt. Nunc omnem nostram de re-publica curam, cogitationem de dicenda in senatu sententia, commentationem causarum abiecimus. In Epicuri nos adversarii nostri castra coniecimus ; nec tamen ad hanc insolentiam, sed ad illam tuam lautitiam, veterem dico, cum in sumptum habebas. Etsi
2 numquam plura praedia habuisti. Proinde te para ; cum homine et edaci tibi res est, et qui iam aliquid intellegat ; ὀψιμαθεῖς autem homines scis quam insolentes sint. Dediscendae tibi sunt sportellae et artolagani tui. Nos iam artis tantum habemus, ut Verrium tuum et Camillum (qua munditia homines ! qua elegantia !) vocare saepius audeamus. Sed vide audaciam ; etiam Hirtio cenam dedi, sine pavone tamen ; in ea cena coquus meus praeter ius fervens
3 nihil non potuit imitari. Haec igitur est nunc vita nostra. Mane salutamus domi et bonos viros multos, sed tristes, et hos laetos victores ; qui me quidem per-

[a] The first course ; *mala*, " apples," being the last. Hence the phrase *ab ovo usque ad mala* = " the dinner from beginning to end." Roast veal or fowl seems to have been the last course before *mala*, " dessert."

[b] Paetus's debtors had handed their lands over to him at the reduced valuation (see note on *Ep.* 16. 7), and he was unable to dispose of them.

[c] Those who take to any study or pursuit late in life (" seri studiorum," Hor. *Sat.* i. 10. 22) are apt to make a great ado over it ; and so Cicero, having just taken to gastronomy, will require " exquisite artistry " and no plain fare.

[d] Mentioned as Cicero's fellow-guest in Letter 26 of this Book.

choked off with your *hors-d'œuvre* ; no, I bring an appetite quite unimpaired to bear upon the egg course [a] ; and so I carry on in grim earnest right up to the roast veal. Those compliments I used to win from you in the old days, " What a model of complaisance ! What an easy fellow to entertain ! " are over and done with. For the present I have thrown to the winds all my political anxieties, all pondering over speeches for the Senate, all careful preparation of briefs, and I have thrown myself into the camp of my former adversary Epicurus, not, however, with an eye to this modern extravagance, but to that luxurious refinement of yours—I mean on the old scale, when you had the money to meet your expenses, though indeed you have more estates [b] on your hands now than ever.

Therefore prepare yourself ; the person you have 2
to deal with is not only a hearty eater, but one who now knows a thing or two ; and you know how fussy " late-learners " [c] are. You must forget all about your fruit-pottles and omelettes. I have now acquired such a store of exquisite skill that I quite frequently venture to invite your friend Verrius [d] and Camillus [e] too, and you know how dainty and fastidious *they* are. But behold my audacity ! I have given a dinner even to Hirtius, though there was no peacock ; and at that dinner there was nothing, except the hot sauce,[f] that my cook failed to copy.

This then is the way I live now ; in the morning I am 3
at home not only to loyalists—a large but melancholy crowd—but also to these exultant conquerors, and it

[e] The distinguished lawyer, a great friend of Cicero. See v. 20. 3 and xiv. 14. 2.

[f] For Hirtius's famous sauce see ix. 18. 3.

officiose et peramanter observant. Ubi salutatio defluxit, litteris me involvo, aut scribo aut lego. Veniunt etiam, qui me audiant quasi doctum hominem, quia paullo sum, quam ipsi, doctior. Inde corpori omne tempus datur. Patriam eluxi iam et gravius et diutius, quam ulla mater unicum filium. Sed cura, si me amas, ut valeas, ne ego, te iacente, bona tua comedim. Statui enim tibi ne aegroto quidem parcere.

XXI

CICERO PAETO S.

Romae. A.U.C. 708.

1 Ain' tandem? insanire tibi videris, quod imitere verborum meorum, ut scribis, fulmina? Tum insanires, si consequi non posses; cum vero etiam vincas, me prius irrideas, quam te, oportet. Quare nihil tibi opus est illud a Trabea, sed potius ἀπότευγμα meum. Verumtamen quid tibi ego in epistolis videor? nonne plebeio sermone agere tecum? Nec enim semper eodem modo. Quid enim simile habet epistola aut iudicio aut contioni? Quin ipsa iudicia non solemus omnia tractare uno modo. Privatas causas, et eas tenues, agimus subtilius, capitis aut famae

[a] Paetus had evidently written something in which he used rather fine language, and then said he must be mad to imitate Cicero's rhetoric, quoting at the same time some passage condemnatory of bombast from Trabea, for whom see ii. 9. 2.

is true that the latter honour me with every mark of courtesy and affection. When the stream of callers has ceased to flow, I wrap myself up in literature, and either write or read. A few also turn up to listen to me as to a man of learning, because I am just a little more learned than themselves. After that I devote all my time to my personal comfort. I have now mourned the loss of my country more sadly and for a longer time than ever a mother the loss of her only son.

But, as you love me, take care of your health, lest I eat you out of house and home while you are on your back; for I am determined to show you no mercy, even if you *are* laid up.

XXI

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, October, 46 B.C.

Do you really mean it? Do you think you are 1
mad to imitate the thunderbolts (as you call them in your letter) of my eloquence?[a] Mad indeed, if you could not do so successfully; but seeing that you even beat me, you ought to jeer at *me* rather than at yourself. So there is no need at all for your quotation from Trabea; the fiasco was rather my own. But be that as it may, how do I strike you in my letters? Don't I seem to talk to you in the language of common folk? For I don't always adopt the same style. What similarity is there between a letter, and a speech in court or at a public meeting? Why, even in law-cases I am not in the habit of dealing with all of them in the same style. Private cases, and those petty ones too, I conduct in a more plain-spoken

scilicet ornatius; epistolas vero quotidianis verbis
2 texere solemus. Sed tamen, mi Paete, qui tibi venit in mentem negare, Papirium quemquam umquam, nisi plebeium fuisse? Fuerunt enim patricii minorum gentium, quorum princeps L. Papirius Mugillanus, qui censor cum L. Sempronio Atratino fuit, cum antea consul cum eodem fuisset, annis post Romam conditam CCCXII. Sed tum Papisii dicebamini. Post hunc XIII. fuerunt sella curuli ante L. Papirium Crassum, qui primum Papisius est vocari desitus. Is dictator cum L. Papirio Cursore, magistro equitum, factus est, annis post Romam conditam CCCCXV., et quadriennio post consul cum C. Duilio. Hunc secutus est Cursor, homo valde honoratus; deinde L. Masso aedilicius; inde multi Massones; quorum quidem tu omnium
3 patriciorum imagines habeas volo. Deinde Carbones et Turdi insequuntur. Hi plebeii fuerunt; quos contemnas censeo. Nam praeter hunc C. Carbonem, quem Damasippus occidit, civis e republica Carbonum nemo fuit. Cognovimus Cn. Carbonem et eius fratrem scurram; quid his improbius? De hoc amico meo, Rubriae filio, nihil dico. Tres illi fratres fuere,

[a] "These were the heads of Patrician families belonging originally to the Latin, Sabine, and Etrurian communities bordering on Rome who, when their cities were incorporated into the Roman state, and their families into the patriciate, were themselves received into the Senate." Tyrrell.

[b] *i.e.*, in 444 B.C.

[c] The change of "s" into "r" is traditionally attributed to Appius Claudius Caecus, consul in 307 and 296 B.C.

[d] He was consul five times and dictator at least twice between 333 and 309 B.C. He was the chief hero of the second Samnite War.

fashion, those involving a man's civil status or his reputation, of course, in a more ornate style; but my letters I generally compose in the language of every-day life.

But anyhow, my dear Paetus, how did it ever 2
suggest itself to you to say that there had never been a single Papirius who was not a plebeian? Why, there have been patricians of the lesser clans,[a] the first of whom was L. Papirius Mugillanus, who was censor with L. Sempronius Atratinus, having previously[b] been the same man's colleague as consul, 312 years after the foundation of the City. But you were then called Papisii.[c]

After him there were thirteen who occupied the curule chair before L. Papirius Crassus, who was the first not to be called *Papisius*. He was appointed dictator, with L. Papirius Cursor as his master of horse, 415 years after the foundation of the City, and four years afterwards consul with C. Duilius. He was followed by Cursor,[d] a man who held very many offices of state; there followed L. Masso, who held the rank of aedile, then a large number of Massones; indeed I wish you had the busts of all these patricians.

The Carbones and the Turdi came next, but they 3
were plebeians, and I think you may well disregard them; for with the exception of that C. Carbo,[e] who was slain by Damasippus, not one of them was a true and loyal citizen. We all knew Cn. Carbo, and his brother the jester; was there ever a more rascally pair? Of this friend of mine, Rubria's son, I say

[e] Slain in 82, having been tribune of the plebs in 90, and one of the authors of the Lex Plautia Papiria, which gave the Italians the citizenship of Rome.

C., Cn., M. Carbones. Marcus P. Flacco accusante condemnatus est fur magnus, ex Sicilia; Gaius, accusante L. Crasso, cantharidas sumpsisse dicitur. Is et tribunus plebis seditiosus fuit, et P. Africano vim attulisse existimatus est. Hoc vero, qui Lilybaei a Pompeio nostro est interfectus, improbior nemo meo iudicio fuit. Iam pater eius, accusatus a M. Antonio, sutorio atramento absolutus putatur. Quare ad patres censeo revertare. Plebeii quam fuerint importuni, vides.

XXII

CICERO PAETO

Romae, A.U.C. 709.

1 Amo verecundiam, alii[1] potius libertatem loquendi. Atqui hoc Zenoni placuit, homini mehercule acuto, etsi Academiae nostrae cum eo magna rixa est. Sed, ut dico, placet Stoicis, suo quamque rem nomine appellare. Sic enim disserunt, nihil esse obscenum, nihil turpe dictu. Nam, si quod sit in obscenitate

[1] *Manutius; and I adopt it as being most easily corrupted into* vel (*MSS.*), *though both* alii *and* tu (*Rutilius*) *postulate an antithetical* ego *with* amo. *Lehmann, leaving* vel, *inserts* odi *after* loquendi.—*an excellent emendation, but cacophonous.*

[a] A deadly poison.

[b] Historians generally incline to the belief that P. Africanus died a natural death, though Mommsen thinks he was the victim of a political conspiracy.

[c] Sulphate of copper, called by the Greeks χάλκανθον.

[d] Of Citium, founder of the Stoic school. "The Stoic argument which Cicero here controverts appears to be as follows:—If in what is called impure language there is anything impure, it must be in the thing or the word: it is not in the thing (§ 1), for we have allusions to such things in

nothing. He had three brothers, Gaius, Gnaeus, and Marcus Carbo.

Marcus, a big thief, on the accusation of P. Flaccus, was condemned for his misdeeds in Sicily; Gaius, on being accused by L. Crassus, is said to have taken a dose of cantharides[a]; he was not only a turbulent tribune of the plebs, but was suspected of having assassinated P. Africanus.[b] But as for this Carbo, who was put to death by our friend Pompey in Lilybaeum, there was never, in my opinion, a greater scoundrel. It was his father again who, on being accused by M. Antonius, is supposed to have evaded condemnation by means of shoemaker's vitriol.[c] So I think you had better go back to your patrician forbears; as for the plebeians, you see what a troublesome crew they were.

XXII

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, July, 45 B.C.

I like modesty, others prefer freedom, in speech. 1
And indeed the latter opinion was held by Zeno,[d] a man, I assure you, of penetration, although our Academy quarrels fiercely with him. But, as I say, the Stoics hold that we should call everything by its proper name. This is their argument—nothing is obscene, nothing shameful in the saying of it; for if there be anything scandalous in obscenity, it is either in

unexceptional dramatic passages; and if not in the thing, *a fortiori* it cannot be in the word (§§ 2-4); therefore there is no such thing as impurity anywhere, and 'the wise man will call a spade a spade.'" Tyrrell. Cicero also ridicules the prurient detection of obscenity where there is none.

flagitium, id aut in re esse, aut in verbo; nihil esse tertium. In re non est. Itaque non modo in comoediis res ipsa narratur (ut ille in *Demiurgo*,

modo forte

nosti canticum; meministi Roscium,

ita me destituit núdum

(totus est sermo verbis tectus, re impudentior); sed etiam in tragoediis. Quid est enim illud?

Quae mulier una

quid, inquam, est?

úsurpat duplex cubile?

Quid?

Huiús, Phere,
hic cubile iníre est ausus.

Quid est?

Vírginem me quóndam invitam pér vim violat Iúppiter.

Bene *violat*; atqui idem significat—, sed alterum
2 nemo tulisset. Vides igitur, cum eadem res sit, quia verba non sint, nihil videri turpe. Ergo in re non est, multo minus in verbis. Si enim, quod verbo significatur, id turpe non est, verbum, quod significat, turpe esse non potest. *Anum* appellas alieno nomine; cur non suo potius? Si turpe est, ne alieno quidem; si non est, suo potius. *Caudam* antiqui *penem* vocabant: ex quo est propter similitudinem *penicillus*.

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[a] By Sextus Turpilius.
[b] A *canticum* was a more or less lyrical monologue, as opposed to a *diverbium* (dialogue). This was probably the soliloquy of a young man who had been "fleeced" by a courtesan.—Tyrrell.

the thing or in the word; there is no third alternative. It is not in the thing. Accordingly the thing itself is put in words, not only in comedy—as that character in the *Demiurgus* [a] says "*Just lately it happened*"; you know the monologue,[b] and you remember Roscius [c] with his "*so bare did she strip me*" (the whole speech is veiled in expression, though the thing expressed is grossly indecent),—but in tragedy also. For what of this?—"*The woman who,*" observe this, I say, "*frequents not one bed only*";[d] and again "*Hers, Pheres, was the bed he dared to enter.*"[e] And again, "*Me, an all-unwilling maiden, Jove o'erpowered with violence.*"[f] "*O'erpowered*" is unobjectionable, and yet it means the same as—but that other word nobody would have tolerated.

So you see, though the thing meant remains the 2
same, because the words are not indecent, no indecency is apparent. Therefore there is no indecency in the thing, much less in the words. For if what is indicated by the word is not indecent, the word indicating it cannot be indecent. When you speak of the *anus* you call it by a name that is not its own; why not rather call it by its own? If it is indecent, do not use even the substituted name; if not, you had better call it by its own. The ancients used to call a tail *penis*, and hence, from its resemblance to a tail, the word *penicillus*.[g] But nowadays

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[c] For Roscius see note on vii. 1. 2.
[d] Probably out of the *Clytaemnestra* of Attius, where Electra reproaches her mother.
[e] The source of this quotation is unknown.
[f] Probably out of the *Antiope* of Pacuvius. *Violat* is an euphemism for some such word as *stuprat*.
[g] Our "pencil."

At hodie *penis* est in obscenis. At vero Piso ille Frugi
in *Annalibus* suis queritur *adulescentes peni deditos esse*.
Quod tu in epistola appellas suo nomine, ille tectius
penem. Sed quia multi, factum est tam obscenum,
quam id verbum, quo tu usus es. Quid, quod vulgo
dicitur, *cum nos te voluimus convenire*, num obscenum
est ? Memini in senatu disertum consularem ita
eloqui ; *Hanc culpam maiorem, an illam dicam ?* Potuit
obscenius ? Non, inquis. Non enim ita sensit. Non
ergo in verbo est. Docui autem in re non esse ;
3 nusquam igitur est. *Liberis dare operam*, quam
honeste dicitur ! Etiam patres rogant filios. Eius
operae nomen non audent dicere. Socratem fidibus
docuit nobilissimus fidicen. Is *Connus* vocitatus est.
Num id obscenum putas ? Cum loquimur *terni*, nihil
flagiti dicimus, at cum *bini*, obscenum est. Graecis
quidem, inquies. Nihil est ergo in verbo ; quando
et ego Graece scio, et tamen tibi dico, *bini* ; idque tu
facis, quasi ego Graece, non Latine dixerim. *Ruta*
et *menta*, recte utrumque. Volo mentam pusillam
ita appellare, ut *rutulam* : non licet. *Bella tectoriola* ;
dic ergo etiam pavimenta isto modo : non potes.
Viden' igitur nihil esse, nisi ineptias ; turpitudinem
nec in verbo esse nec in re, itaque nusquam esse ?
4 Igitur in verbis honestis obscena ponimus. Quid

[a] Tribune of the plebs in 149 B.C.

[b] *i.e.*, *mentula*.

[c] *Cum nos* must have been pronounced *Cun-nos*.

[d] *Illam dicam*, probably pronounced *illan-dicam*, suggesting *landica* = κλειτορίς.

[e] *Terni* = three each, *bini* = two each, but *bini* suggests βινεῖν.

[f] "Rue and mint." The diminutive of *menta* would be *mentula*, the word Paetus had used.

[g] "Pretty wall-plaster, or stucco."

penis is among the obscenities. "Yes, but the famous
Piso Frugi [a] complains in his *Annals* that youths are
given up to the *penis*." What you in your letter call
by its own name,[b] he with more reserve calls *penis* ;
but because many people use it so, it has become as
obscene as the word you used. What of the common
expression *Cum nos te voluimus convenire* [c]—is that
obscene ? I remember an eloquent consular using
these words in the Senate, *Hanc culpam maiorem
an illam dicam ?* [d] Could he have said anything more
obscene ? "Not at all," you say, "for that is not
what he meant." So then there is no obscenity in
the word; but I have explained that there is none in
the thing ; therefore there is none anywhere. "To 3
make an effort to get children "—what an honourable
expression! Why, even fathers ask their sons to do so;
but they do not dare to put a name to the "effort."
Socrates was taught to play the lyre by a very famous
musician. He was called *Connus*. Do you really
think that obscene? When we say *terni* [e] in talking,
there is nothing shocking in what we say; but when we
say *bini* [e] it is obscene. "Yes," you will remark, "to
the Greeks." There is nothing then in the mere word,
since I know Greek, and yet say *bini* in talking to you ;
and you are just putting it on here, as though I spoke
in Greek, and not in Latin. *Ruta* and *menta* [f]—we use
both words without impropriety. I want to use the
diminutive of *menta*, as one might say *rutula* ; it is not
done. *Bella tectoriola* [g] ; then use the diminutive of
pavimenta in that way ; you can't do it. Do you see
then that all this is nothing but silly nonsense ; that
there is indecency neither in the word nor in the
thing, so that there is none anywhere ?

Therefore we introduce obscenities into words of 4

enim? non honestum verbum est *divisio*? At inest obscenum, cui respondet *intercapedo*. Num haec ergo obscena sunt? Nos autem ridicule, si dicimus, *ille patrem strangulavit*, honorem non praefamur; sin de Aurelia aliquid aut Lollia, honos praefandus est. Et quidem iam etiam non obscena verba pro obscenis sunt. *Battuit*, inquit, impudenter; *depsit* multo impudentius. Atqui neutrum est obscenum. Stultorum plena sunt omnia. *Testes*, verbum honestissimum in iudicio, alio loco non nimis. At honesti *colei Lanuvini*, *Cliternini* non honesti. Quid? ipsa res modo honesta, modo turpis. *Suppedit*, flagitium est. Iam erit nudus in balneo, non reprehendes. Habes
5 scholam Stoicam, ὁ σοφὸς εὐθυρρημονήσει. Quam multa ex uno verbo tuo? Te adversus me omnia audere gratum est. Ego servo et servabo (sic enim assuevi) Platonis verecundiam. Itaque tectis verbis ea ad te scripsi, quae apertissimis agunt Stoici. Sed illi etiam crepitus aiunt aeque liberos ac ructus esse oportere. Honorem igitur Kalendis Mart. Tu me diliges et valebis.

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[a] *Divisio* contains *-visio*, *visium* being "a stench," and *pedo* = πέρδω.

[b] Or "saving your presence." *Strangulavit* = *compressit*.

[c] Typical courtesans.

[d] *Battuere* = "to pound"; *depsere* = "to knead."

[e] The meaning of this is obscure, though *coleus* (*culeus* or *culleus*) sometimes = *scrotum*.

[f] See note [a] above.

[g] The day when the Festival of the Matrons (*Matronalia*) was celebrated. Cicero implies that the best corrective of the coarseness of speech, condoned, and even encouraged, by the Stoics, is respectful decency of language in conversing with women. Lambinus, on the strength of these words, would date this letter March 1.

unexceptionable meaning. Come now, is not *divisio*[a] an unexceptionable word? But there is an obscenity in it, and *intercapedo*[a] is on all fours with it. Are these words therefore obscene? It is ridiculous in us, however, not to preface the remark "he strangled his father" with, "if you will pardon the expression,"[b] and yet be obliged to do so if it has any reference to an Aurelia or a Lollia.[c] And indeed it has come to this, that we even use words that are not obscene in an obscene sense. *Battuit*, says he, is a shameless word, *depsit* much more so.[d] And yet neither is in itself obscene. *Testis*, a most decent word in a court of law, is not over-decent elsewhere. And while *colei Lanuvini* is all right, *Cliternini* is not so.[e] Why, the thing itself can be at one moment decent, at another indecent. *Suppedit*[f] is grossly coarse; presently a man will be naked in his bath, and you will have no word of reproof. Here is your Stoic disquisition in a nutshell: "The wise man will call a spade a spade." What a lot of talk arising from a single word of yours! 5
I am gratified that, in arguing with me, there is no word you dare not use. As for me, I maintain, and ever shall maintain, as has always been my habit, the modest reserve of Plato; so I have used veiled language in writing to you of what the Stoics deal with in the most outspoken way. But *they*—why, they go so far as to say that *crepitus* should be just as free as *ructus*! All honour therefore to the Calends of March.[g] You will, I am sure, continue to love me and to keep well.

XXIII

CICERO PAPIRIO PAETO

In Cumano, A.U.C. 708.

Heri veni in Cumanum, cras ad te fortasse. Sed cum certum sciam, faciam te paullo ante certiorem. Etsi M. Caeparius, cum mihi in silva Gallinaria obviam venisset, quaesissemque, quid ageres, dixit te in lecto esse, quod ex pedibus laborares. Tuli scilicet moleste, ut debui; sed tamen constitui ad te venire, ut et viderem te et viserem et cenarem etiam. Non enim arbitror coquum etiam te arthriticum habere. Exspecta igitur hospitem cum minime edacem, tum inimicum cenis sumptuosis.

XXIV

CICERO PAETO

Romae, A.U.C. 711.

1 Rufum istum, amicum tuum, de quo iterum iam ad me scribis, adiuvarem, quantum possem, etiamsi ab eo laesus essem, cum te tanto opere viderem eius causa laborare; cum vero et ex tuis litteris, et ex illius ad me missis intellegam et iudicem magnae curae ei salutem meam fuisse, non possum ei non amicus esse, neque solum tua commendatione, quae

[a] A forest of pines, near Cumae, infested by robbers. *Cf.* Juv. iii. 307.

[b] The difference in time between this letter and the last, and still more strikingly the next, is another proof of the lack of orderly arrangement in the compilation of the *Epp. ad Fam.*

[c] Perhaps the Salvidienus Rufus mentioned in *Brut.* i. 17. Prof. Palmer identifies him with Horace's Nasidienus Rufus, *Sat.* ii. 8. To what plot Cicero alludes further on in § 1 is not known.

XXIII

CICERO TO THE SAME

Cumae, November 17, 46 B.C.

Yesterday I came to my Cuman villa, to-morrow perhaps I shall come to you. But when I know for certain, I shall give you notice a little before; although M. Caeparius when he came to meet me in the Gallinarian wood,[a] and I inquired of him how you were, told me you were in bed, suffering from your feet. Of course I was as sorry as I ought to be; but none the less I determined to come to you, so as to see you, and make a visit of it, and even to have dinner with you; for I don't suppose you have a cook too who is a victim to arthritis. Be on the look-out then for a guest who is not only a very small eater but a foe to expensive dinners.

XXIV

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, early in February, 43 B.C.[b]

With regard to this Rufus,[c] your friend, about 1
whom you now write to me for the second time, I should assist him to the best of my ability, even if he had done me an injury, because I saw that you were taking such pains on his behalf. When, however, both your letters, and those he has himself sent me, led me to infer conclusively that my own welfare has given him no little anxiety, I cannot help being a friend to him, and that not only on your recommendation, which naturally carries very

apud me, ut debet, valet plurimum, sed etiam voluntate ac iudicio meo. Volo enim te scire, mi Paete, initium mihi suspicionis et cautionis et diligentiae fuisse litteras tuas; quibus litteris congruentes fuerunt aliae postea multorum. Nam et Aquini et Fabrateriae consilia sunt inita de me, quae te video inaudisse; et, quasi divinarent, quam his molestus essem futurus, nihil aliud egerunt, nisi me ut opprimerent. Quod ego non suspicans incautior fuissem, nisi a te admonitus essem. Quamobrem iste tuus amicus apud me non eget commendatione. Utinam ea fortuna reipublicae sit, ut ille me virum gratissi-
2 mum possit cognoscere! Sed haec hactenus. Te ad cenas itare desisse, moleste fero. Magna enim te delectatione et voluptate privasti. Deinde etiam vereor, licet enim verum dicere, ne nescio quid illud, quod solebas, dediscas et obliviscare, cenulas facere. Nam si tum, cum habebas, quos imitarere, non multum proficiebas, quid nunc te facturum putem? Spurinna quidem, cum ei rem demonstrassem, et vitam tuam superiorem exposuissem, magnum periculum summae reipublicae demonstrabat, nisi ad superiorem consuetudinem tum, cum Favonius flaret, revertisses. Hoc tempore ferri posse, si forte tu

[a] This was Spurinna the augur, who warned Caesar, shortly before his assassination, that his life was in danger.

[b] The west wind which heralded spring (*cf.* Hor. *Od.* i. 4, "solvitur acris hiems grata vice veris et Favoni"). At present (in February) Paetus might urge that he was prevented from going out to dinners by the cold.

great weight with me, but also in accordance with my own inclination and judgment.

For I would have you know, my dear Paetus, that what first began to make me suspicious and wary and careful was your letter, and there were other subsequent letters from many sources, which tallied with yours. Both at Aquinum and at Fabrateria schemes were initiated affecting myself which I see you must have overheard; and, just as if they guessed what trouble I was going to cause them, they made it their one aim and object to crush *me*. And I, suspecting nothing of this, should have lacked due caution, had I not been warned by you. And that is why this friend of yours requires no recommendation with me. I only pray that the fortunes of the commonwealth may be such as to enable him to recognize in me the most grateful of men. But no more about this.

I am distressed at your having given up going 2
out to dinner. You have deprived yourself of a great deal of amusement and pleasure. In the next place I am really afraid (for I need not mince matters) that you will unlearn and forget to some extent your old practice of giving little dinners yourself. For if, at the time when you had plenty of hosts to set you an example, you showed but little improvement, what am I to imagine you will do now? Spurinna[a] indeed, when I pointed the thing out to him, and described your previous life, pointed out that the whole commonwealth was threatened with a grave danger unless you reverted to your previous habits when Favonius[b] began to blow; for the present, he added, such conduct might be tolerated, since possibly you could not endure the cold.

3 frigus ferre non posses. Sed, mehercule, mi Paete, extra iocum, moneo te, quod pertinere ad beate vivendum arbitror, ut cum viris bonis, iucundis, amantibus tui vivas. Nihil aptius vitae, nihil ad beate vivendum accommodatius. Nec id ad voluptatem refero, sed ad communitatem vitae atque victus, remissionemque animorum, quae maxime sermone efficitur familiari, qui est in conviviis dulcissimus, ut sapientius nostri, quam Graeci; illi συμπόσια aut σύνδειπνα, id est compotationes aut concenationes; nos convivia, quod tum maxime simul vivitur. Vides, ut te philosophando revocare coner ad cenas? Cura, ut valeas.

4 Id foris cenitando facillime consequere. Sed cave, si me amas, existimes me, quod iocosius scribam, abiecisse curam reipublicae. Sic tibi, mi Paete, persuade, me dies et noctes nihil aliud agere, nihil curare, nisi ut mei cives salvi liberique sint. Nullum locum praetermitto monendi, agendi, providendi; hoc denique animo sum, ut, si in hac cura atque administratione vita mihi ponenda sit, praeclare actum mecum putem. Etiam atque etiam vale.

But really, my dear Paetus, joking apart, I advise 3
you to do what, in my opinion, has a direct bearing upon a happy life—to live with men who are good and pleasant fellows, and fond of you. Life has nothing better suited to it, there is nothing better adapted to a life of happiness. And I do not base my argument on the pleasures of the palate, but on the enjoyment of life and living in common, and that relaxation of mind which is most effectively induced by familiar conversation, and assumes its most charming form in convivial gatherings, as our fellow countrymen call them; and they are wiser therein than the Greeks; *they* call them συμπόσια or σύνδειπνα, which is to say "drinkings together" or "dinings together"; *we* call them "livings together," for then, more than ever, do our lives coincide. You observe how I am trying to win you back to our dinners by philosophizing? Take care of your health, and the easiest way to ensure that is to make a practice of dining out.

But, as you love me, take care you do not, because 4
I write in rather a jocular vein, suspect me of having thrown to the winds my concern for the Republic. My dear Paetus, you may convince yourself of this, that day and night, my one principle of action, my one anxiety, is to secure the safety and freedom of my fellow-citizens. Never do I miss an opportunity in the way of advising, acting, or looking ahead.

In short my spirit is such that, if in this my charge and ministration I am called upon to lay down my life, I think I shall have accounted for myself not without glory. Farewell again and again.

XXV

CICERO IMP. PAETO

Laodiceae, A.U.C. 704.

1 Summum me ducem litterae tuae reddidere. Plane nesciebam te tam peritum esse rei militaris. Pyrrhi te libros et Cineae video lectitasse. Itaque obtemperare cogito praeceptis tuis; hoc amplius, navicularum habere aliquid in ora maritima; contra equitem Parthum negant ullam armaturam meliorem inveniri posse. Sed quid ludimus? Nescis, quo cum imperatore tibi negotium sit. Παιδείαν Κύρου, quam contriveram legendo, totam in hoc imperio explicavi.

2 Sed iocabimur alias coram, ut spero, brevi tempore. Nunc ades ad imperandum [vel ad parendum potius; sic enim antiqui loquebantur]. Cum M. Fadio, quod scire te arbitror, mihi summus usus est; valdeque eum diligo, cum propter summam probitatem eius ac singularem modestiam, tum quod in his controversiis, quas habeo cum tuis combibonibus Epicureis, optima

3 opera eius uti soleo. Is cum ad me Laodiceam venisset, mecumque ego eum esse vellem, repente percussus est atrocissimis litteris, in quibus scriptum erat, fundum Herculanensem a Q. Fadio fratre pro-

[a] According to Aelian both Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, and his minister Cineas wrote treatises on military affairs.

[b] The prototype of our "horse-marines."

[c] Xenophon's *Education of Cyrus*.

[d] I believe Tyrrell is right in suspecting these words as a gloss.

[e] M. Fadius Gallus, a particular friend of Cicero's, whom *Epp.* 23-26 in Book VII. are addressed.

XXV

CICERO TO THE SAME

Laodicea, February, 50 B.C.

Your letter has made me a first-rate general. I 1 had not the slightest idea that you were such an expert in military matters. You have evidently perused the commentaries of Pyrrhus [a] and Cineas; so I intend to obey your instructions and further than that, to keep a little ship or two on the sea-coast; they say that no better form of equipment can possibly be found to oppose the Parthian cavalry.[b] But why do we joke about it? You little know what a commander-in-chief you have to deal with. The *Cyropaedia* [c] which I had well thumbed in the reading of it, I have exemplified in its entirety during my command here.

But we will resume our joking some other time 2 *tête à tête*, and I hope very soon. For the present attend to the word of command [or rather to obeying it; that is how they spoke in the old days].[d] I am very intimate, as I think you know, with M. Fadius,[e] and I have a great regard for him, not only on account of his very high integrity and unusual modesty, but also because in these controversies which I have with your boon companions, the Epicureans, I often avail myself of his admirable assistance.

Well, when he came to see me at Laodicea, and I 3 wanted him to remain with me, he was suddenly and profoundly shocked by a most horrible letter to the effect that an estate near Herculaneum had been advertised for sale by his brother Q. Fadius,—an

scriptum esse; qui fundus cum eo communis esset. Id M. Fadius pergraviter tulit existimavitque fratrem suum, hominem non sapientem, impulsu inimicorum suorum eo progressum esse. Nunc, si me amas, mi Paete, negotium totum suscipe, et molestia Fadium libera. Auctoritate tua nobis opus est, et consilio et etiam gratia. Noli pati litigare fratres et iudiciis turpibus conflictari. Matonem et Pollionem inimicos habet Fadius. Quid multa? non mehercule tam perscribere possum, quam mihi gratum feceris, si otiosum Fadium reddideris. Id ille in te positum esse putat mihique persuadet.

XXVI

CICERO S. D. PAETO

Romae, A.U.C. 707.

1 Accubueram hora nona, cum ad te harum exemplum in codicillis exaravi. Dices, ubi? apud Volumnium Eutrapelum, et quidem supra me Atticus, infra Verrius, familiares tui. Miraris tam exhilaratam esse servitutem nostram? Quid ergo faciam? Te consulo, qui philosophum audis. Angar? excruciemne me? quid assequar? Deinde quem ad finem? Vivas, inquis, in litteris. An quidquam me aliud agere censes? Aut possem vivere, nisi in litteris

[a] Probably the famous Asinius Pollio, for whom see note on x. 31. 1.
[b] Cicero would afterwards copy the letter into *chartae*.
[c] See vii. 32 and 33.
[d] Explained at the end of § 1.

estate of which he is joint-owner with his brother. This M. Fadius bitterly resented, and he suggested that his brother (a bit of a fool) had been urged to go to such lengths by Marcus's own private enemies. So now, as you love me, my dear Paetus, take the whole business on your shoulders, and deliver Fadius from his distress. We have need of your influence, of your counsel, and even of your personal kindness Do not allow brothers to engage in litigation, and have their heads banged together in a discreditable lawsuit. Fadius has two enemies in Mato and Pollio.[a] Why say any more? I assure you I cannot fully express in a letter how grateful I shall be to you if you put Fadius at his ease. He thinks it all depends upon you, and I believe him.

XXVI

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, November (?), 46 B.C.

I have just taken my place at table at three o'clock, 1
and am scribbling a copy of this letter to you in my note-book.[b] "Where?" you will say. At the house of Volumnius Eutrapelus,[c] and next above me is Atticus and below me Verrius, both friends of yours. Are you surprised that we have become so merry in our slavery? What then am I to do? I ask you, the pupil of a philosopher,[d] to advise me. Am I to suffer anguish, am I to torture myself? What good would that do me? And again, for how long? Live, you say, in your books. Do you suppose that I do anything else? Or could I live at all, were it not that I

viverem? Sed est earum etiam, non satietas, sed quidam modus. A quibus cum discessi, etsi minimum mihi est in cena (quod tu unum ζήτημα Dioni philosopho posuisti) tamen quid potius faciam, priusquam
2 me dormitum conferam, non reperio. Audi reliqua. Infra Eutrapelum Cytheris accubuit. In eo igitur, inquis, convivio Cicero ille,

quem áspectabant, cúius ob os Graii óra obvertebánt sua?

Non, mehercule, suspicatus sum illam adfore. Sed tamen Aristippus quidem ille Socraticus non erubuit, cum esset obiectum, habere eum Laida: *Habeo*, inquit, *non habeor a Laide.* Graece hoc melius; tu, si voles, interpretabere. Me vero nihil istorum, ne iuvenem quidem, movit umquam; ne nunc senem. Convivio delector; ibi loquor quod in solum, ut
3 dicitur, et gemitum in risus maximos transfero. An tu id melius, qui etiam in philosophum irriseris? Qui cum ille, si quis quid quaereret, dixisset, cenam te quaerere a mane dixeris. Ille baro te putabat quaesiturum, unum caelum esset an innumerabilia. Quid ad te? "At hercule cena num quid ad te, ibi

[a] "Quia meretrix; nam honestae mulieres sedebant," Manutius. The quotation which follows is probably from the *Telamo* of Ennius.

[b] The head of the Cyrenaic school. He held that the bodily pleasure of the moment was the *summum bonum*, and that εὐδαιμονία (happiness) was the sum of such moments. According to Athenaeus, the words used by Aristippus were ἔχω καὶ οὐκ ἔχομαι, of which the translation gives the point.

[c] Or "is brought on the tapis," though Dr. Reid thinks it may mean "what meets the foot," *cf.* τὰ ἐν ποσί.

lived in my books? But even with them, though I am not exactly sick of them, there *is* a certain limit. When I have left them, though I am very little concerned about my dinner—and yet this was the one subject of inquiry *you* put before the philosopher Dion—still I am unable to discover what better I can do, until I betake myself to bed.

Listen to the rest of my story. Next below Eu- 2
trapelus reclined[a] Cytheris. At such a dinner-party then, you remark, was the famous Cicero,

He at whom gazed the Greeks, and to whose face
All turned their faces.

Upon my oath, I never suspected that *she* would be there; but after all even the great Socratic Aristippus[b] did not blush when it was cast in his teeth that he had Lais for his mistress. "She is my mistress," said he, "but I am her master." It is better in the Greek; translate it yourself if you like. As for myself, however, I was never tempted by anything of that sort, even when a young man, much less now that I am an old man. A dinner-party is my delight; there I talk on any subject that crops up[c] (as they say), and I convert groans into hearty guffaws.

Did you behave any better, you, who actually 3
made mock of a philosopher? You, who when the great man asked if anybody had any question to put, declared that the one question in your head from early morn was the question of dinner. The poor old simpleton thought you would ask whether there was one heaven or millions of them. What had you to do with that? "But good gracious," you will say, "what had you to do with a dinner at all, especially at such a table?"

4 praesertim." Sic igitur vivitur; quotidie aliquid legitur aut scribitur; dein, ne amicis nihil tribuamus, epulamur una, non modo non contra legem, si ulla nunc lex est, sed etiam intra legem, et quidem aliquanto. Quare nihil est quod adventum nostrum extimescas. Non multi cibi hospitem accipies, multi ioci.

[a] Caesar's sumptuary law, passed in this year (46), which even restricted the purchase and enjoyment of certain delicacies.

Well then, such is my life; everyday something is read or written; after that, not to fail in courtesy to my friends, I dine in their company, not only without contravening the law,[a] if there be any law just now, but even keeping within the law, yes. and well within it. So you have no reason to be so awfully afraid of my arrival. You will receive a guest who is not so fond of food as he is full of fun. 4

BOOK X

SUMMARY OF THE CISALPINE CAMPAIGN,[a]

April-July 43 B.C.

A FEW weeks after the assassination of Caesar (March 15, 44 B.C.) Decimus Brutus took over the province of Cisalpine Gaul, assigned to him by Caesar. In June Antony had succeeded in securing Cisalpine Gaul for himself; and on October 9 he went to Brundisium to meet his Macedonian legions, where he quelled a mutiny of his troops who had been tampered with by Octavian, now his open enemy. In November he returned to Rome, and thence to Tibur, where he was approached by several senators with a view to reconciliation, but without result. On November 29 he left Rome and set out at the head of a large force for Cisalpine Gaul. D. Brutus, compelled by Antony to withdraw from one town after another, at last fell back on the fortress-colony of Mutina (Modena), where he stood at bay.

On January 1, 43 B.C., an important meeting of the Senate was convened by the consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, to discuss the policy to be adopted against Antony. It was finally resolved on January 4th to send envoys to Antony, requiring him to evacuate D. Brutus's province, and obey the Senate and people. Of the envoys chosen, one, Servius Sulpicius Rufus, died before they reached Antony's camp, and his colleagues, though they had not been allowed to confer with

[a] In this summary I owe much to Mr. W. W. How's admirably lucid Introduction to Part V. of his *Select Letters of Cicero.*

D. Brutus, brought back from Antony counter-proposals which were discussed in the Senate. Meantime the consul Hirtius had left Rome to take command of the forces sent to the relief of Mutina. It was now proposed to send a second embassy to Antony, with Cicero as one of the envoys; but at the last moment he refused to serve in that capacity, and the scheme fell through.

It was apparently on March 20th that the consul Pansa left Rome for the north at the head of new levies; M. Cornutus, the *praetor urbanus*, was left in charge as acting consul, and on the day of Pansa's departure summoned the Senate to discuss despatches from Lepidus and Plancus, recommending a conciliatory policy towards Antony; this Cicero strongly opposed (x. 6. 1, x. 27), with the result that negotiations were abandoned. Towards the end of the month another and a far more satisfactory letter reached the Senate from Plancus (x. 8), for which Cicero wrote to thank him.

Meanwhile Pansa was approaching Mutina with four legions of recruits, having already driven Antony's outposts from Claterna. Antony also evacuated Bononia so as to concentrate on Mutina, and deputed his brother Lucius to watch D. Brutus, while he himself prepared to resist the advance of Hirtius who had now been joined by Octavius. Antony was decidedly stronger in cavalry, but the country was not well adapted for it. On hearing of Pansa's approach Antony advanced with a large force to intercept him. Hirtius, however, had already sent out the Martian legion and two praetorian cohorts under D. Carfulenus to meet Pansa and escort him to his camp. Pansa, thus reinforced, advanced along the Aemilian way till he met Antony a little to the east of Forum Gallorum (now Castel Franco) about 10 miles S.E. of Mutina. Here, on April 15th, was fought a fierce engagement, in which Pansa was wounded, and his troops defeated; Hirtius, however, successfully attacked Antony as he was returning to his lines; and meanwhile Octavius beat off an assault of the enemy upon his own camp. This engagement was reported to Cicero by Servius Galba (x. 30), who was himself present, and despatches arrived at the same time from the consuls and Octavius, on April 21st. At a meeting of the Senate held on the next day, it was carried on the proposal of Cicero that there should be *supplicationes* (public

thanksgivings) for fifty days, and that a monument should be erected to the memory of the fallen. Antony too was declared a *hostis* (public enemy).

Plancus at this time was evidently chagrined at the slow recognition of his services by the Senate, and Cicero had some difficulty in soothing him (x. 12).

After the engagement near Forum Gallorum, Hirtius and Octavius had collected all their available forces against Antony, and after some days, towards the end of April, Hirtius succeeded in drawing Antony from his entrenchments, and forcing upon him a general action, in which Antony was completely defeated, and compelled to raise the siege of Mutina.

Hirtius, however, fell in this battle, and shortly afterwards Pansa also died of the wounds he had received at Forum Gallorum.

D. Brutus being prevented by lack of transport from harassing him on his retreat, Antony was able to effect a junction at Vada in Liguria with P. Ventidius Bassus and, finding himself at the head of a considerable force, he marched rapidly towards Gallia Narbonensis. The Senate summoned Lepidus and Plancus to Italy (x. 33. 1), but Antony arrived at Forum Julii (Fréjus, in Savoie, France) on May 15th, and encamped near Lepidus at Forum Voconii (Canet) and on the Argenteus (Argus), with the result that Lepidus was forced (as he alleges) to agree to the union of the two armies (x. 35. 1). The united armies must have numbered nearly 80,000 men, mainly veterans. Plancus, who had crossed the Isara (Isère in Savoie) to support Lepidus against Antony, recrossed that river on June 4th to await the arrival of D. Brutus. On June 30th the Senate unanimously declared Lepidus a public enemy. Pansa's recruits at the instance of Cicero were put under the command of D. Brutus, who was commissioned to prosecute the war against Antony.

Cicero still urged D. Brutus and Plancus to co-operate, and their union took place early in June. Their combined forces outnumbered those of Antony and Lepidus, but they shrank from taking the offensive.

Asinius Pollio remained sulkily inactive in Spain, considering himself slighted by the Senate. Meantime Octavius, after much subtle intriguing, having refused to support

D. Brutus, finally caused his soldiers to demand the consulship for him. The Senate appealed desperately to their officers commanding in the East and in Africa. Cicero's last letter preserved to us (xii. 10) is a request to C. Cassius to come to Italy, and the last extant addressed to Cicero is one from Plancus, dated July 28th (x. 23), in which he speaks of his reluctance to risk a battle and complains of Octavius's ambitious projects. Octavius with his eight legions and Julius Caesar's African veterans, who went over to him, overpowered the resistance of the Senate and was elected consul for 42 B.C. in his twentieth year. Pollio immediately went over to Antony and Lepidus; Plancus stood out a little longer, until Pollio arranged a reconciliation between him and Antony. D. Brutus endeavoured to force his way to M. Brutus in the East, but was slain at Aquileia, at Antony's bidding, probably in October.

The chronological sequence of the letters in this book addressed to Cicero (with VIII. to the Consuls, etc., and XXXV. to the Senate, etc.) is as follows:

IV.	from	Plancus, late in November,	44	B.C.
XXXI.	„	Pollio, March 16,	43	„
VII.	„	Plancus, March 23	„	„
VIII.[a]	„	Plancus, March 23	„	„
XXX.	„	Galba, April 15	„	„
IX.	„	Plancus, April 27	„	„
XI.	„	Plancus, end of April	„	„
XV.	„	Plancus, May 13	„	„
XXI.	„	Plancus, May 15	„	„
XVIII.	„	Plancus, May 18	„	„
XXXIV.	„	Lepidus, May 18	„	„
XVII.	„	Plancus, May 20	„	„
XXXIV.	„	Lepidus, May 22	„	„
XXXIII.	„	Pollio, end of May	„	„
XXXV.[b]	„	Lepidus, May 30	„	„
XXIII.	„	Plancus, June 6	„	„
XXXI.	„	Pollio, June 8	„	„
XXIV.	„	Plancus, July 28	„	„

[a] To the Consuls, etc.

[b] To the Senate, etc.

M. TULLII CICERONIS EPISTOLARUM AD FAMILIARES

LIBER DECIMUS

I

CICERO PLANCO

Romae, A.U.C. 710.

1 Et abfui proficiscens in Graeciam: et, posteaquam de medio cursu reipublicae sum voce revocatus, numquam per M. Antonium quietus fui; cuius tanta est, non insolentia (nam id quidem vulgare vitium est), sed immanitas, non modo ut vocem, sed ne vultum quidem liberum possit ferre cuiusquam. Itaque mihi maximae curae est, non de mea quidem vita, cui satisfeci vel aetate vel factis vel (si quid

[a] Lucius Munatius Plancus was born about 87 B.C. We hear of three of his brothers—Bursa, Cicero's *bête noir*; Gaius, of whom Pliny the Elder says that he deserved his death by proscription if only for having introduced perfumes into Rome; and Gnaeus, often mentioned in this book by his brother Lucius. In the Gallic and Civil wars Lucius served under Caesar, who shortly before his death nominated him governor of Gallia Comata (*i.e.*, all Gaul except Narbonensis) and also consul for 42, with D. Brutus as his colleague. On Caesar's death, Lucius took up his province, and at first supported the Senate against Antony, but when Lepidus joined Antony he crossed over to their side. After his consulship in 42 he followed Antony to Asia, and became governor of Syria. In 32 he broke with Antony, and being well received by Octavian, he lived at Rome for the rest of his life. It was on his proposal that Octavian was given the title of Augustus in 27. He was censor in 22. He never scrupled to desert the losing for the winning side, and, being a past master in the art of flattery, he was uniformly prosperous in life. Hor. *Od.* i. 7 is addressed to him.

CICERO'S LETTERS TO HIS FRIENDS

BOOK X

I

CICERO TO L. MUNATIUS PLANCUS [a]

Rome, early in September, 44 B.C.

I have been absent from Rome, on my way to 1
Greece, and besides, ever since I was recalled from the middle of my journey by the voice of the Republic, I have never been left in peace, thanks to M. Antonius, whose arrogance—no, that is a vice one finds everywhere—whose *brutality* is such that he cannot endure any liberty, I will not say of language, but even of look, in any man alive. And so I am profoundly concerned, not indeed about my own life, the claims of which I have satisfied, whether you reckon my age or my achievements or (if that

etiam hoc ad rem pertinet) gloria; sed me patria sollicitat, in primisque, mi Plance, exspectatio consulatus tui; quae ita longa est, ut optandum sit, ut possimus ad id tempus reipublicae spiritum ducere. Quae potest enim spes esse in ea republica, in qua hominis impotentissimi atque intemperatissimi armis oppressa sunt omnia? et in qua nec senatus, nec populus vim habet ullam? nec leges ullae sunt, nec iudicia nec omnino simulacrum aliquod ac vestigium
2 civitatis? Sed cum acta omnia mitti ad te arbitrabar, nihil erat, quod singulis de rebus scriberem. Illud autem erat amoris mei, quem a tua pueritia susceptum non servavi solum, sed etiam auxi, monere te atque hortari, ut in rempublicam omni cogitatione curaque incumberes. Quae si ad tuum tempus perducitur, facilis gubernatio est; ut perducatur autem, magnae cum diligentiae est, tum etiam fortunae.
3 Sed et te aliquanto ante, ut spero, habebimus, et, praeterquam quod reipublicae consulere debemus, etiam[1] tuae dignitati ita favemus, ut omne nostrum consilium, studium, officium, operam, laborem, diligentiam ad amplitudinem tuam conferamus. Ita

[1] *Wesenberg*: tamen *MSS.*

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[a] *i.e.*, in 42 B.C.

indeed has anything to do with the matter) my renown; but what worries me is my country, and most particularly, my dear Plancus, the anxious anticipation of your consulship,[a] which is so distant that we can only pray that we can keep on drawing the breath of life until the commonwealth reaches that day. For what hope can possibly exist in a commonwealth in which everything lies crushed by the armed forces of one so desperately violent and intractable, in which neither the Senate nor the people has any power at all, in which there are neither laws nor law-courts, nor any semblance or vestige whatever of a constitution?

But since, as I suppose, a report of all transactions 2
is being transmitted to you, there is no reason why I should write an account of every detail. This much, however, is due to my affection for you—an affection which, conceived from the days of your boyhood, I have not only preserved but even encouraged to grow—and that is to admonish and exhort you to throw all the weight of your anxious deliberations into the betterment of the Republic. If its existence is prolonged up to the day of your consulship, the ship can be easily steered; but to secure that prolongation we need not only untiring assiduity, but also exceptionally good fortune.

But, for one thing, we shall have your services, I 3
hope, considerably earlier than that, and for another, over and above my bounden duty to consider the interests of the Republic, I am besides so sincere in my support of your claims, that I devote all I have to give in the way of counsel, earnestness, service, effort, hard work, and assiduity, to the furtherance of your advancement. For so, I am

facillime et reipublicae, quae mihi carissima est, et amicitiae nostrae, quam sanctissime nobis colendam
4 puto, me intellego satisfacturum. Furnium nostrum tanti a te fieri, quantum ipsius humanitas et dignitas postulat, nec miror et gaudeo; teque hoc existimare volo, quidquid in eum iudici officique contuleris, id ita me accipere, ut in meipsum te putem contulisse.

II

CICERO PLANCO S.

Romae, A.U.C. 710.

1 Meum studium honori tuo pro necessitudine nostra non defuisset, si aut tuto in senatum aut honeste venire potuissem. Sed nec sine periculo quisquam libere de republica sentiens versari potest in summa impunitate gladiorum, nec nostrae dignitatis videtur esse ibi sententiam de republica dicere, ubi me et melius et propius audiant armati, quam senatores.
2 Quapropter in privatis rebus nullum neque officium neque studium meum desiderabis; ne in publicis

[a] C. Furnius was tribune in 50 B.C. When Cicero was in Cilicia, Furnius undertook to oppose the extension of Cicero's tenure of office beyond the year, and helped Caelius to obtain a *supplicatio* for him. In the Civil War Furnius fought on Caesar's side. In 44 he was on the staff of Plancus, and conducted negotiations between Plancus and Lepidus. He joined Antony and Lepidus when Plancus did so, and continued in the service of Antony up to the battle of Actium in 31, but was afterwards pardoned by Octavian. Though promised the consulship, he never held that office. Plutarch (*Ant.* 58) writes of him as being "the cleverest speaker in Rome."

convinced, can I most easily satisfy the claims of that Republic which is the object of my dearest affection, and also those of that friendship between us which I consider it our duty most religiously to foster.

That you should value our friend Furnius[a] as 4
highly as his own refinement of mind and deserts demand, is no surprise to me, and I am glad of it; and I wish you to believe this, that whatever favour or kindness you bestow upon him, I welcome it as accounting it bestowed upon myself.

II

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, late in September, 44 B.C.

In view of our close intimacy the compliment[b] paid 1
you would not have lacked my enthusiastic support, had I been able to attend the Senate either with safety or with honour. But neither can any man whose political opinions are in favour of liberty move about without danger, when there is this unlimited licence of the sword, nor does it seem consistent with my dignity to express my feelings about the Republic in a place where I should be heard better and at closer quarters by armed men than by senators.

And for that reason, while you will not have to 2
regret the lack of any act of service or devotion on my part in private affairs, even in public affairs also

[b] Probably a *supplicatio*, which would confirm Plancus's title of *imperator*.—Tyrrell.

quidem, si quid erit, in quo me interesse necesse sit, umquam deero, ne cum periculo quidem meo, dignitati tuae. In iis autem rebus, quae nihilominus, ut ego absim, confici poterunt, peto a te, ut me rationem habere velis et salutis et dignitatis meae.

III

CICERO S. D. PLANCO

Romae, A.U.C. 710.

1 Cum ipsum Furnium per se vidi libentissime, tum hoc libentius, quod illum audiens te videbar audire. Nam et in re militari virtutem, et in administranda provincia iustitiam, et in omni genere prudentiam mihi tuam exposuit, et praeterea mihi non ignotam in consuetudine et familiaritate suavitatem tuam adiunxit, praeterea summam erga se liberalitatem. Quae omnia mihi iucunda, hoc extremum etiam
2 gratum fuit. Ego, Plance, necessitudinem constitutam habui cum domo vestra ante aliquanto, quam tu natus es; amorem autem erga te ab ineunte pueritia tua; confirmata iam aetate, familiaritatem cum studio meo, tum iudicio tuo constitutam. His de causis mirabiliter faveo dignitati tuae, quam mihi tecum statuo debere esse communem. Omnia summa consecutus es virtute duce, comite fortuna: eaque es adeptus adulescens, multis invidentibus,

I shall never fail to uphold your position, yes, and at my own personal risk too, if there be any occasion necessitating my intervention. In such matters, however, as can be carried through just as well in my absence, I beg of you not to take exception to my having some consideration both for my own safety and my own dignity.

III

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, late in September, 44 B.C.

Though I was exceedingly pleased to see Furnius 1
for his own sake, I was the more pleased because in listening to him I seemed to be listening to you. He set out before my eyes your gallantry in the military world, your justice in the administration of your province, and your wisdom in every relation of life; and he touched, moreover, on what our familiar intercourse had already taught me, your charm of manner, and furthermore your splendid generosity towards himself—all of which gave me pleasure, but this last evoked my gratitude as well.

As to myself, Plancus, I have acquired a close friend- 2
ship with your family established long before you were born, but an affection for yourself dating from your early boyhood, and, now that you are of mature age, an intimacy that is firmly based at once on my devotion and on your judgment; for these reasons I am extraordinarily eager to support your high position—a position which I maintain we ought to hold in common. You have gained all the highest distinctions—virtue your guide, fortune your comrade—and you have gained them in early youth,

quos ingenio industriaque fregisti. Nunc me amantissimum tui, nemini concedentem, qui tibi vetustate necessitudinis potior possit esse, si audies, omnem tibi reliquae vitae dignitatem ex optimo reipublicae
3 statu acquires. Scis profecto (nihil enim te fugere potuit), fuisse quoddam tempus, cum homines existimarent te nimis servire temporibus ; quod ego quoque existimarem, te si ea, quae patiebare, probare etiam arbitrarer. Sed cum intellegerem, quid sentires, te arbitrabar videre, quid posses. Nunc alia ratio est. Omnium rerum tuum iudicium est, idque liberum. Consul es designatus optima aetate, summa eloquentia, in maxima orbitate reipublicae virorum talium. Incumbe, per deos immortales, in eam curam et cogitationem, quae tibi summam dignitatem et gloriam afferat. Unus autem est, hoc praesertim tempore per tot annos republica devexata, reipublicae
4 bene gerendae cursus ad gloriam. Haec amore magis impulsus scribenda ad te putavi, quam quo te arbitrarer monitis et praeceptis egere. Sciebam enim ex iisdem te haec haurire fontibus, ex quibus ipse hauseram. Quare modum faciam. Nunc tantum significandum putavi, ut potius amorem tibi ostenderem meum, quam ostentarem prudentiam.

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[a] *i.e.*, the study of philosophy.

despite the jealousy of many, all of whom you have crushed by your ability and application. As matters stand to-day, if you listen to me (who am wholly devoted to you and allow no man's claim to stand higher in your regard on the score of length of friendship), there is no position for the rest of your life that you will not further secure from a sound establishment of the Republic.

You know of course—nothing can have escaped 3
you—that there was a time when men thought that you were too much of a time-server ; and I too should have thought so, had I imagined that you actually approved what you only tolerated. But when I began to understand your sentiments, I suspected that you saw the limitations of your power. Now the case is altered. The decision on all points lies with you, and your decision is untrammelled. You are consul-designate in the prime of life, your eloquence is of the highest order, and the State is more destitute of such men than ever. I adjure you by the immortal gods, throw all your mind into the careful consideration of such measures as may bring you the highest dignity and glory. Now to that glory there is but one path, especially in these days when the Republic has been harassed to death for so many years — and that is upright administration of that same Republic.

It was rather an impulse of affection that induced 4
me to write to you in this strain, than that I ever supposed you needed such warnings and directions ; for I know you draw all such inspirations from the same springs as myself[a] ; so I will make an end. For the present I thought I should merely hint at things, to show you my affection rather than make a show of my

Interea, quae ad dignitatem tuam pertinere arbitrabor, studiose diligenterque curabo.

IV

PLANCUS CICERONI

In Gallia Comata, A.U.C. 710.

1 Gratissimae mihi tuae litterae fuerunt, quas ex Furni sermone te scripsisse animadverti. Ego autem praeteriti temporis excusationem affero, quod te profectum audieram; nec multo ante redisse scivi, quam ex epistula tua cognovi. Nullum enim in te officium, ne minimum quidem, sine maxima culpa videor posse praeterire; in quo tuendo habeo causas plurimas vel paternae necessitudinis, vel meae a pueritia observantiae vel tui erga me mutui amoris.

2 Quare, mi Cicero, quod mea tuaque patitur aetas, persuade tibi te unum esse, in quo ego colendo patriam mihi constituerim sanctitatem. Omnia igitur tua consilia mihi non magis prudentiae plena, quae summa est, videntur, quam fidelitatis, quam ego ex mea conscientia metior. Quare si aut aliter sentirem, certe admonitio tua me reprimere, aut si

[a] See note on ix. 15. 2.

sagacity. Meantime I shall attend with hearty goodwill and assiduity to whatever I think concerns your high position.

IV

PLANCUS TO CICERO

Gallia Comata,[a] late in November, 44 B.C.

I am greatly obliged to you for your letter, which 1
I observe you write as a result of what you were told by Furnius. The excuse I offer for the time that has elapsed is that I had heard of your having set out from Rome, and only knew of your return shortly before I was apprised of it by your letter. For it seems impossible that I should omit any act of service to you, however slight, without incurring very serious blame; and for the due performance of such service I have countless reasons, whether in your close intimacy with my father, or my reverence for you from my boyhood, or your affection for me—an affection I reciprocate.

For that reason, my dear Cicero (and our re- 2
spective ages permit it), be assured that you are the only man alive in honouring whom I have but consistently observed the sacred reverence due to a father. All your counsels therefore are, as it seems to me, not more fraught with wisdom—and that is of the highest—than with a sincerity which I can gauge by my own innermost feelings. It follows that if my sentiments were to differ from yours, your admonishment would assuredly be enough to

dubitarem, hortatio impellere posset, ut id sequerer, quod tu optimum putares. Nunc vero quid est, quod me in aliam partem trahere possit? Quaecumque in me bona sunt, aut fortunae beneficio tributa aut meo labore parta, etsi a te propter amorem carius sunt aestimata, tamen vel inimicissimi iudicio tanta sunt, ut praeter bonam famam nihil desiderare
3 videantur. Quare hoc unum tibi persuade, quantum viribus eniti, consilio providere, auctoritate monere potuero,[1] hoc omne reipublicae semper futurum. Non est ignotus mihi sensus tuus; neque, si facultas, optabilis mihi quidem, tui praesentis esset, umquam a tuis consiliis discreparem; nec nunc committam, ut ullum meum factum reprehendere iure possis.
4 Sum in exspectatione omnium rerum, quid in Gallia citeriore, quid in Urbe mense Ianuario geratur, ut sciam. Interim maximam hic sollicitudinem curamque sustineo, ne inter aliena vitia hae gentes nostra mala suam putent occasionem. Quod si proinde, ut ipse mereor, mihi successerit, certe et tibi, cui maxime cupio, et omnibus viris bonis satisfaciam. Fac valeas meque mutuo diligas.

[1] movere *M*.

restrain me, and if I were in doubt, your exhortation enough to impel me to follow whatever course you deemed to be the best. As it is, however, what is there that could possibly draw me in any different direction? Whatever advantages I possess whether bestowed upon me by the bounty of fortune or won by my own exertions, although you, in your love for me, attach too high a value to them, are yet, even in the opinion of my bitterest enemy, so considerable, as to appear to lack nothing but an honourable reputation.[a]

Be assured then of this one fact, that whatever 3
my powers can accomplish, my prudence foresee, or my personal influence prescribe, all that will ever be at the disposal of the Republic. I am well aware of your political attitude; and had I the opportunity (and indeed I long for it) of being actually with you, I should never disagree with your policy; and even as it is, I shall not be so ill-advised as to put it in your power to censure any act of mine with justice.

I am eagerly awaiting news on all matters, so as 4
to know what is done in Hither Gaul, and what in the City, in the month of January. Meanwhile what causes me the greatest solicitude and anxiety is the fear that, tempted on all sides by the weaknesses of their enemy, these Gallic tribes may look upon our difficulties as their opportunity. But if my success is in proportion to my deserts, I shall at any rate satisfy not only yourself, whom it is my chief desire to satisfy, but also all men who are patriots. Be sure to keep well, and love me as I love you.

[a] He probably refers to what Cicero says of him in x. 3. 3, "that he was thought too much of a time-server."

V

CICERO PLANCO S.

Romae, A.U.C. 711.

1 Binas a te accepi litteras eodem exemplo; quod ipsum argumento mihi fuit diligentiae tuae. Intellexi enim te laborare, ut ad me mihi exspectatissimae litterae perferrentur. Ex quibus cepi fructum duplicem mihique in comparatione difficilem ad iudicandum, amoremne erga me tuum, an animum in rempublicam pluris aestimandum putarem. Est omnino patriae caritas meo quidem iudicio maxima; sed amor voluntatisque coniunctio plus certe habet suavitatis. Itaque commemoratio tua paternae necessitudinis benevolentiaeque eius, quam erga me a pueritia contulisses, ceterarumque rerum, quae ad eam sententiam pertinebant, incredibilem mihi
2 laetitiam attulerunt. Rursus declaratio animi tui, quem haberes de republica, quemque habiturus esses, mihi erat iucundissima; eoque maior erat haec laetitia, quod ad illa superiora accedebat. Itaque te non hortor solum, mi Plance, sed plane etiam oro, quod feci his litteris, quibus tu humanissime respondisti, ut tota mente omnique animi impetu in rempublicam incumbas. Nihil est, quod tibi maiori fructui gloriaeque esse possit, nec quid-

V

CICERO TO PLANCUS

Rome, middle of December, 44 B.C.

I have received two letters from you, each the 1
exact copy of the other, and this in itself I regarded as a proof of your affectionate care; for I saw clearly that you were making every effort to have your most anxiously awaited letter safely delivered to me. It gave me a double satisfaction, which made it difficult for me to decide upon comparison, whether I should attach the greater value to your affection for me, or to your feelings towards the Republic. Speaking generally, in my judgment, the love of one's country is paramount, but personal love and community of aspirations certainly carry with them a greater charm. And so your reminding me of my close intimacy with your father, and of that friendliness you had displayed towards me from your boyhood, and of everything else connected with that sentiment, brought me a joy beyond belief.

Again the declaration of the feelings you enter- 2
tained, and would continue to entertain, as regards the Republic, gave me the greatest pleasure, and my joy was all the more intense because it came as an addition to what you had previously said. And so I not only exhort you, my dear Plancus, but I even implore you in all earnestness (as I did in the letter to which you replied in such very courteous terms), to throw yourself with your whole mind and with every impulse of your heart into the cause of the Republic. There is nothing that can bring you greater material advantage or greater glory, as there

quam ex omnibus rebus humanis est praeclarius aut praestantius, quam de republica bene mereri.

3 Adhuc enim—patitur tua summa humanitas et sapientia, me, quod sentiam, libere dicere—fortuna suffragante videris res maximas consecutus; quod quamquam sine virtute non potuisses, tamen ex maxima parte ea, quae es adeptus, fortunae temporibusque tribuuntur. His temporibus difficillimis reipublicae, quidquid subveneris, id erit totum et proprium tuum. Incredibile est omnium civium, latronibus exceptis, odium in Antonium; magna spes in te, et in tuo exercitu magna exspectatio. Cuius, per deos, gratiae gloriaeque cave tempus amittas. Sic moneo, ut filium; sic faveo, ut mihi; sic hortor, ut et pro patria et amicissimum.

VI

CICERO PLANCO

Romae, A.U.C. 711.

1 Quae locutus est Furnius noster de animo tuo in rempublicam, ea gratissima fuerunt senatui, populoque Romano probatissima; quae autem recitatae litterae sunt in senatu, nequaquam consentire cum Furni oratione visae sunt. Pacis enim auctor eras,

[a] See note to x. 3. 1.

is nothing in all human affairs more brilliant or more excellent than to deserve well of the Republic.

For hitherto (your consummate courtesy and wisdom permits me to express my thoughts unreservedly) it seems to me that you have succeeded in matters of the greatest import by the favour of fortune; and although you could not have done so without personal merit, your achievements are attributed mainly to fortune and the circumstances of the time. In these most difficult times whatever assistance you render to the Republic will be entirely and exclusively to your own credit. How Antony is hated by all citizens, except the brigands, is beyond belief. There are high hopes of you, and great expectations of your army; so, for heaven's sake, take care you do not miss the opportunity of winning all that popularity and renown. I am advising you as a son; I am favouring your interests as my own; I am exhorting you as one speaking both for his country and to a very dear friend. 3

VI

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, March 20th, 43 B.C.

The statement of our friend Furnius[a] as to your attitude of mind towards the Republic was most acceptable to the Senate and highly approved by the people of Rome; the letter, however, which was read out in the Senate appeared by no means to harmonize with what Furnius had said. 1

For you were the advocate of peace, at a time

cum collega tuus, vir clarissimus, a foedissimis latronibus obsideretur; qui aut positis armis pacem petere debent aut, si pugnantes eam postulant, victoria pax, non pactione parienda est. Sed de pace litterae vel Lepidi vel tuae quam in partem acceptae sint, ex viro optimo, fratre tuo, et ex C. Furnio poteris co-
2 gnoscere. Me autem impulit tui caritas, ut, quamquam nec tibi ipsi consilium deesset, et fratris Furnique benevolentia fidelisque prudentia tibi praesto esset futura, vellem tamen meae quoque auctoritatis pro plurimis nostris necessitudinibus praeceptum ad te aliquod pervenire. Crede igitur mihi, Plance, omnes, quos adhuc gradus dignitatis consecutus sis (es autem adeptus amplissimos), eos honorum vocabula habituros, non dignitatis insignia, nisi te cum libertate populi Romani et cum senatus auctoritate coniunxeris. Seiunge te, quaeso, aliquando ab iis, cum quibus te non tuum iudicium, sed
3 temporum vincla coniunxerunt. Complures in perturbatione reipublicae consulares dicti, quorum nemo consularis habitus, nisi qui animo exstitit in rempublicam consulari. Talem igitur te esse oportet, qui primum te ab impiorum civium tui dissimilli-

[a] Decimus Brutus, appointed by Caesar to hold the consulship with Plancus in 42.

when your own most distinguished colleague[a] was being blockaded by those ruffianly brigands who ought either to lay down their arms and beg for peace, or, if they demand it in battle-array, it is by conquest, and not by compact, that peace must be secured. But as to the letters on that subject, whether we take yours or that of Lepidus, you will best discover the construction put upon them from that excellent man, your brother, and from C. Furnius.

However, although I never thought you lacked 2
sagacity yourself, and you were sure to have Furnius's and your brother's friendly and faithful watchfulness to fall back upon, none the less my affection for you inspired me with the desire, in view of the very many ties of intimacy between us, that some warning should reach you under the seal of my own personal authority as well.

Believe me, therefore, Plancus, that those steps in official promotion you have so far ascended (and you have reached the most important of them) will be universally regarded not as so many badges of merit, but as mere titles of public office, unless you identity yourself with the liberty of the Roman people, and the authority of the Senate. Disengage yourself, I pray, while there is yet time, from those to whom you are so closely bound, not by your own choice, but by the chains of circumstance.

Amid the confusion of public affairs several men 3
have been called consulars, but not a single one of them has been esteemed a consular unless he was a man conspicuous for his consular spirit in relation to the Republic. It behoves you then, to be the sort of man firstly, to burst the bonds of your partnership with disloyal citizens, who have no resemblance

morum societate seiungas; deinde et senatui bonisque omnibus auctorem, principem, ducem praebeas; postremo, ut pacem esse iudices non in armis positis, sed in abiecto armorum et servitutis metu. Haec si et ages et senties, tum eris non modo consul et consularis, sed magnus etiam et consul et consularis. Sin aliter, tua in istis amplissimis nominibus honorum non modo dignitas nulla erit, sed erit summa deformitas. Haec impulsus benevolentia scripsi paullo severius; quae tu in experiendo ea ratione, quae te digna est, vera esse cognosces.

VII

PLANCUS CICERONI

In Gallia Comata, A.U.C. 711.

1 Plura tibi de meis consiliis scriberem rationemque omnium rerum redderem verbosius, quo magis iudicares, omnia me reipublicae praestitisse, quae et tua exhortatione excepi et mea affirmatione tibi recepi; (non minus enim a te probari, quam diligi semper volui; nec te magis in culpa defensorem mihi paravi, quam praedicatorem meritorum meorum esse volui); sed breviorem me duae res faciunt; una,

whatever to yourself; and, secondly, to offer your services as adviser, leader, and commander, both to the Senate and to the whole body of loyalists; and, lastly, to make up your mind that peace is not to be found in the mere cessation of hostilities, but in dissipating the very apprehension of arms and slavery. If that is what you will do and feel, then will you not only be a consul and a consular, but also a great consul and a great consular. Otherwise the dignity you enjoy amid all those very impressive official titles of yours will be worse than non-existent; it will be a ghastly travesty.

It is pure friendliness that has prompted me to write these words, and I may have been a little too hard upon you; but if you yourself put them to the test in the only way that is not unworthy of you, you will find them to be words of truth.

VII

PLANCUS TO CICERO

Gallia Comata, about March 23rd, 43 B.C.

I should write more fully about my plans and 1
give you an account of the whole position at greater length, so that you might be the better convinced that I have performed for the Republic all your exhortation imposed upon me, and all I solemnly assured you I would undertake to perform (for I have ever desired to possess your approval no less than your regard, and have not so much sought your aid to be my advocate when at fault, as wished for it to proclaim my merits); but I have to be briefer than usual for two reasons; one is that I have already

quod publicis litteris omnia sum persecutus, altera, quod M. Varisidium, equitem Romanum, familiarem meum, ipsum ad te transire iussi, ex quo omnia co-
2 gnoscere posses. Non, medius fidius, mediocri dolore afficiebar, cum alii occupare possessionem laudis viderentur; sed usque mihi temperavi, dum perducerem eo rem, ut dignum aliquid et consulatu meo et vestra exspectatione efficerem. Quod spero, si me fortuna non fefellerit, me consecuturum, ut maximo praesidio reipublicae nos fuisse, et nunc sentiant homines et in posterum memoria teneant. A te peto, ut dignitati meae suffrageris et, quarum rerum spe ad laudem me vocasti, harum fructu in reliquum facias alacriorem. Non minus posse te quam velle, exploratum mihi est. Fac valeas meque mutuo diligas.

VIII

PLANCUS IMP. COS. DES. S. D. COSS. PR. TRIB. PLEB. SEN. POP. PL. Q. R.

In Gallia Comata, A.U.C. 711.

1 Si cui forte videor diutius et hominum exspectationem, et spem reipublicae de mea voluntate

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[a] It is not known what they were.

[b] It is not quite clear how and when Plancus obtained the title of *imperator*; perhaps it was for his victory over the Raeti, for which he triumphed in December 44. The addition of "the people and commons of Rome" to the addressees of the letter is not usual, but two other letters are so addressed—that of Lepidus to Cicero (x. 35), and that of Lentulus (xii. 15). This use of *populus* points to a time when the patricians alone were so entitled.

made a full statement in my public despatch, the other that I have instructed M. Varisidius, a Roman knight and an intimate friend of mine, to run over himself and see you, so that you might get full information from him.

Heaven is my witness that I have been more 2
than a little annoyed at being anticipated by others, as it seems, in the establishment of a reputation; but I have controlled myself until I could succeed so far in my undertakings as to achieve something worthy both of the consulship in store for me, and the expectations of all of you. And that I hope, if fortune does not play me false, to accomplish, so that the world may recognize now and remember hereafter, that I have been a powerful means of protection to the commonwealth. I beg you to support with your interest my position in the State, and to stimulate my activity in the future by letting me now enjoy those honours,[a] the prospect of which you held out to me when you summoned me to the path of glory. I am positively assured that you are no less able than you are willing to do so. Be sure to keep well, and to love me as I love you.

VIII

PLANCUS, IMPERATOR, CONSUL-DESIGNATE, SENDS GREETING TO THE CONSULS, PRAETORS, TRIBUNES OF THE PLEBS, THE SENATE, THE PEOPLE AND COMMONS OF ROME [b]

Gallia Comata, about March 23rd, 43 B.C.

If there happens to be a man who imagines that 1
I have kept too long in suspense the general expectation and the hope of the Republic as to my personal

tenuisse suspensam, huic prius excusandum me esse arbitror, quam de insequenti officio quidquam ulli pollicendum. Non enim praeteritam culpam videri volo redemisse, sed optimae mentis cogitata iam-
2 pridem maturo tempore enuntiare. Non me praeteribat in tanta sollicitudine hominum et tam perturbato statu civitatis fructuosissimam esse professionem bonae voluntatis magnosque honores ex ea re complures consecutos videbam. Sed cum in eum casum me fortuna demisisset, ut aut celeriter pollicendo magna mihi ipse ad proficiendum impedimenta opponerem, aut, si in eo mihi temperavissem, maiores occasiones ad opitulandum haberem, expeditius iter communis salutis, quam meae laudis esse volui. Nam quis in ea fortuna, quae mea est, et ab ea vita, quam in me cognitam hominibus arbitror, et cum ea spe, quam in manibus habeo, aut sordidum quidquam pati
3 aut perniciosum concupiscere potest? Sed aliquantum nobis temporis et magni labores et multae impensae opus fuerunt, ut, quae reipublicae bonisque omnibus polliceremur, exitu praestaremus, neque ad auxilium patriae nudi cum bona voluntate, sed cum

sentiments, it is to such a critic that I think I must justify my conduct before making any promise to anybody about my obligations in the future. For to appear to have expiated a past error is not so much my object, as to announce, now that the time is ripe for it, the conclusions I have long since arrived at, and they are those of a sincerely loyal heart.

It never escaped my notice that amid such pro- 2
found and universal anxiety, and the utterly confused state of the country, the most lucrative of all policies was the profession of loyal sentiments, and I observed that not a few have by that profession attained high honours in the State. But seeing that fortune had plunged me into the predicament of having to choose between making hasty promises, and thereby putting serious obstacles in the way of my successful progress, and on the other hand, by the exercise of self-restraint in that respect, securing better opportunities for rendering helpful service, I preferred to clear the path to my country's salvation rather than to my own glorification. For who, occupying the position I now hold, and after such a career as mine is, I believe, generally acknowledged to have been, and with such prospects as I have within my grasp, could possibly either submit to anything like humiliation, or harbour in his heart anything like a sinister desire?

But it necessitated a considerable amount of time, 3
some heavy work, and much expense, for me to make good by their accomplishment the promises I had made to the Republic and all loyal citizens, and to come to the aid of my country not empty-handed, however excellent my intentions, but furnished

facultatibus accederemus. Confirmandus erat exercitus nobis, magnis saepe praemiis sollicitatus, ut ab republica potius moderata, quam ab uno infinita speraret; confirmandae complures civitates, quae superiore anno largitionibus concessionibusque praemiorum erant obligatae, ut et illa vana putarent et eadem a melioribus auctoribus petenda existimarent; alliciendae etiam voluntates reliquorum, qui finitimis provinciis exercitibusque praefuerunt, ut potius cum pluribus societatem defendendae libertatis iniremus, quam cum paucioribus funestam orbi terrarum victo-
4 riam partiremur. Muniendi vero nosmetipsi fuimus aucto exercitu auxiliisque multiplicatis, ut, cum praeferremus sensus aperte, tum etiam invitis quibusdam sciri, quid defensuri essemus, non esset periculosum. Ita numquam diffitebor multa me, ut ad effectum horum consiliorum pervenirem, et simulasse invitum et dissimulasse cum dolore, quod, praematura denuntiatio boni civis imparati quam
5 periculosa esset, ex casu collegae videbam. Quo nomine etiam C. Furnio legato, viro forti atque strenuo, plura etiam verbo, quam scriptura, mandata

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[a] *i.e.*, in the way of exemption from taxes and grants of citizenship; this was one of the purposes for which Antony used Caesar's papers and other documents purporting to be Caesar's but really forged by Faberius, who had been his scribe.

[b] D. Brutus, now besieged in Mutina.

with resources. I had to strengthen the allegiance of an army, frequently tampered with by the offer of huge bribes, and induce them to look forward rather to the modest rewards of the commonwealth than to the unlimited prodigality of a single citizen; to strengthen the allegiance of numerous states, laid under an obligation in the previous year by largesses and charters[a] of privilege, and induce them to regard all such rewards as of no account, and appreciate the propriety of claiming the same from a more constitutional authority. I had, moreover, to enlist the sympathy of the other officers in command of the neighbouring provinces and armies, so that we might enter into a partnership with the majority for the defence of our liberty and not share with fewer partners the fruits of a victory fraught with ruin to the whole world.

I had, however, to fortify my own position by in- 4
creasing the army and the number of our auxiliaries, so that when I came to give public expression to my convictions, the disclosure of the cause I intended to support, however objectionable to certain persons, might be attended with no personal risk. I shall never therefore hesitate to admit that in many instances, in order to arrive at the due accomplishment of these projects, I have, albeit with reluctance, professed what was false, and, albeit with pain, dissembled what was true; for the calamity that befell my colleague[b] had taught me the extreme danger of a premature declaration by a loyal citizen, when he was not fully prepared.

It was on this account also that I gave that gallant 5
and energetic officer, my legate C. Furnius, even fuller messages by word of mouth than appear in

dedimus, ut et tectius ad vos perferrentur, et nos essemus tutiores; quibusque rebus et communem salutem muniri et nos armari conveniret, praecepimus. Ex quo intellegi potest, curam reipublicae summae
6 defendundae iampridem apud nos excubare. Nunc, cum deum benignitate ab omni re sumus paratiores, non solum bene sperare de nobis homines, sed explorate iudicare volumus. Legiones habeo v sub signis, et sua fide virtuteque reipublicae coniunctissimas et nostra liberalitate nobis obsequentes, provinciam omnium civitatum consensu paratissimam et summa contentione ad officia certantem, equitatus auxiliorumque tantas copias, quantas hae gentes ad defendendam suam salutem libertatemque conficere possunt. Ipse ita sum animo paratus, vel provinciam tueri, vel ire, quo respublica vocet, vel tradere exercitum, auxilia provinciamque, ut vel omnem impetum belli in me convertere non recusem, si modo meo casu aut confirmare patriae salutem aut periculum possim
7 morari. Haec si iam expeditis omnibus rebus tranquilloque statu civitatis polliceor, in damno meae laudis reipublicae commodo laetabor; sin ad societa-

my despatch, so that they might be delivered to you with greater secrecy, and I myself might run less risk; and I have instructed him as to the most suitable measures for the protection of our common safety and for my own equipment. From all this it may be inferred that anxiety to protect the highest interests of the Republic has for long past kept me sleeplessly vigilant.

Now that, by the blessing of heaven, we are better 6
prepared at every point, I desire that men in general should have not only better hopes of us, but a sure confidence based on judgment. I have five legions under colours, not only closely bound to the Republic by their own loyalty and gallantry, but also, thanks to my liberality, obedient to my command; I have a province in the highest state of preparation, thanks to the unanimity of all the communities, and exhibiting the keenest emulation in the performance of their duties; I have cavalry and auxiliary forces as great as these tribes can muster in the defence of their own lives and liberty.

Speaking for myself, so heartily prepared am I, whether to protect the province, or to go whithersoever the State calls me, or to hand over to a successor my legions, my auxiliaries, and my province, that I should not shrink from turning the whole brunt of the war upon myself, provided that, by any fate of mine, I could either ensure the salvation of my country, or secure her a respite from danger.

If I make these promises at a time when all diffi- 7
culties have been smoothed away, and the country is calm, though I thus forfeit the chance of distinguishing myself, I shall rejoice at the public gain; but if I am going on to play my part in

tem integerrimorum et maximorum periculorum accedam, consilia mea aequis iudicibus ab obtrectatione invidorum defendenda commendo. Mihi quidem ipsi fructus meritorum meorum in reipublicae incolumitate satis magnus est paratus. Eos vero, qui, meam auctoritatem et multo magis vestram fidem secuti, nec ulla spe decipi nec ullo metu terreri potuerunt, ut commendatos vobis habeatis, petendum videtur.

IX

PLANCUS CICERONI S.

In Gallia Narbonensi, A.U.C. 711.

1 Nihil me tibi temere aut te ceteris de me frustra recepisse laetor. Certe hoc maius habes testimonium amoris mei, quo maturius tibi quam ceteris consilia mea volui esse nota. In dies vero meritorum meorum fieri accessiones, pervidere te spero; cogni-
2 turum magis recipio. Quod ad me attinet, mi Cicero (ita ab imminentibus malis respublica me adiuvante liberetur), sic honores praemiaque vestra suspicio, conferenda certe cum immortalitate, ut sine his nihil de meo studio perseverantiaque sim remissurus.

[a] *Cf. Ep.* 24. 2.

dangers of a most unmitigated and terrible nature, I commend to your impartial judgment the defence of my policy against the calumnies of the envious.

As for myself, I have secured quite an adequate reward for my services in the prosperity of the commonwealth; but as to the men who, guided by my authority, but, in a far greater degree, by their confidence in your pledges, could neither be cajoled by any promises nor intimidated by any threats—those men I feel bound to beg of you to regard as commended to your consideration.[a]

IX

THE SAME TO CICERO

Gallia Narbonensis, about April 27th, 43 B.C.

I am very glad that I made no rash promises 1
to you, or you to the others, about myself. At any rate you possess a greater proof of my affection in my desire that my fears should be known to you earlier than to the rest. But that fresh additions are being made day by day to the list of my services I hope you clearly see; that you will have fuller knowledge of it I guarantee.

As far as I am concerned, my dear Cicero (so 2
may the Republic be delivered by my assistance from the evils that threaten her!), while I have the highest esteem for the honours and rewards you senators can bestow—and they can surely bear comparison with immortality—still, even without them, I do not intend to relax my devotion and

Nisi in multitudine optimorum civium impetus animi mei fuerit singularis et opera praecipua, nihil ad meam dignitatem accedere volo suffragatione vestra.
3 Concupisco autem nihil mihi (contra quod ipse pugno), sed et temporis et rei te moderatorem facile patior esse. Nihil aut sero aut exigue a patria civi tributum potest videri. Exercitum a. d. sextum Kal. Maias Rhodanum traieci magnis itineribus. Vienna equites mille via breviore praemisi. Ipse, si ab Lepido non impediar, celeritate satisfaciam; si autem itineri meo se opposuerit, ad tempus consilium capiam. Copias adduco et numero et genere et fidelitate firmissimas. Te, ut diligas me, si mutuo te facturum scis, rogo. Vale.

X

CICERO PLANCO

Romae, A.U.C. 711.

1 Etsi satis ex Furnio nostro cognoram, quae tua voluntas, quod consilium de republica esset, tamen, tuis litteris lectis, liquidius de toto sensu tuo iudicavi. Quamobrem, quamquam in uno proelio omnis fortuna

perseverance. Unless amid the multitude of most patriotic citizens my enthusiasm has proved unparalleled and my efforts outstanding, I do not desire any addition to be made to my dignity by your flattering votes. I covet no distinction for 3
myself (indeed it is a feeling I instinctively fight against); and I am quite willing to leave both the season for it and the substance of it to your discretion. No honour conferred upon a citizen by his country can possibly seem either too late or too little.

I threw my army across the Rhone on the 26th of April, by means of forced marches. I sent forward a thousand horse by a shorter route from Vienne. If I am not hindered by Lepidus, speaking for myself, I shall give you every satisfaction by my rapidity; if however he proves an obstacle to my line of march, I shall take such measures as the moment demands. The troops I am bringing up are extremely strong in numbers, in the type of man, and in loyalty. I beg you will regard me with affection, in the knowledge that it will be reciprocated. Farewell.

X

CICERO TO PLANCUS

Rome, March 30th, 43 B.C.

Although I had been sufficiently informed by our 1
friend Furnius as to your sympathies and your policy in reference to the Republic, still the perusal of your letter gave me a clearer estimate of your whole political attitude. And therefore, although the entire fortune of the Republic is being staked on

reipublicae disceptatur[1] (quod quidem, cum haec legeres, iam decretum arbitrabar fore), tamen ipsa fama, quae de tua voluntate percrebruit, magnam es laudem consecutus. Itaque si consulem Romae habuissemus, declaratum esset ab senatu cum tuis magnis honoribus, quam gratus esset conatus et apparatus tuus. Cuius rei non modo non praeteriit tempus, sed ne maturum quidem etiam nunc, meo quidem iudicio, fuit. Is enim denique honos mihi videri solet, qui non propter spem futuri benefici, sed propter magna merita claris viris defertur et datur.

2 Quare, sit modo aliqua respublica in qua honos elucere possit, omnibus, mihi crede, amplissimis honoribus abundabis. Is autem, qui vere appellari potest honos, non invitamentum ad tempus, sed perpetuae virtutis est praemium. Quamobrem, mi Plance, incumbe toto pectore ad laudem; subveni patriae; opitulare collegae; omnium gentium consensum et incredibilem conspirationem adiuva. Me tuorum consiliorum adiutorem, dignitatis fautorem, omnibus in rebus tibi amicissimum fidelissimumque cognosces. Ad eas enim causas, quibus inter nos amore sumus, officiis, vetustate coniuncti, patriae

[1] *Wesenberg*: disceptat *libri*.

[a] The battle of Mutina.
[b] Hirtius had left Rome in January, and Pansa on March 20th.

the issue of one battle[a]—and indeed I believe that, as you read these words, that issue will have been already decided—still the mere rumour which has become current of your intentions, has invested you with a great reputation. So if only we had had a consul at Rome,[b] the Senate, while honouring you with marks of high distinction, would have formally expressed its gratification at what you have essayed to do already, and are preparing to do in the future. But the time for these amenities, so far from having gone by, is not, in my opinion at any rate, even yet fully ripe. For I always think that the only true distinction is that bestowed as a free gift upon men of mark, not in anticipation of their future services, but in recognition of their conspicuously good work in the past.

For this reason (so but there be any constitution 2
left where it is possible for honour to shine forth), take my word for it, you will have more than enough of the most splendid honours heaped upon you. But that honour, which can truly be so termed, is not an incentive for the moment, but the reward of a long career of consistent excellence. Therefore, my dear Plancus, devote yourself heart and soul to the attainment of glory; come to the rescue of our country, assist your colleague, contribute to the agreement and miraculous unanimity of the whole world.

In me you will find one who will help you in your counsels, promote your advancement, and be in all things your most loving and faithful friend. For to those bonds which have united our hearts—bonds of affection, mutual kindnesses, and long-standing friendship—there has now been added our common

caritas accessit; eaque effecit, ut tuam vitam anteferrem meae. III. Kalendas Aprilis.

XI

PLANCUS CICERONI

In Allobrogibus, A.U.C. 711.

1 Immortales ago tibi gratias agamque, dum vivam; nam relaturum me, affirmare non possum. Tantis enim tuis officiis non videor mihi respondere posse; nisi forte, ut tu gravissime disertissimeque scripsisti, ita sensurus es, ut me referre gratiam putes, cum memoria tenebo. Si de fili tui dignitate esset actum, amabilius certe nihil facere potuisses. Primae tuae sententiae infinitis cum muneribus, posteriores ad tempus arbitriumque amicorum meorum compositae, oratio de me assidua et perpetua iurgia cum obtrectatoribus propter me notissima mihi sunt. Non mediocris adhibenda mihi est cura, ut reipublicae me civem dignum tuis laudibus praestem, in amicitia tua memorem atque gratum. Quod reliquum est, tuum munus tuere et me, si, quem esse voluisti, eum exitu

2 rebusque cognoscis, defende ac suscipe. Cum Rhodanum copias traiecissem, fratremque cum tribus millibus equitum praemisissem, ipse iter ad Mutinam

love for our country—a love that has made me regard your life as more precious than my own. March 30th.

XI

PLANCUS TO CICERO

Among the Allobroges, the end of April, 43 B.C.

I tender you, and shall continue to do so as long 1
as I live, my undying gratitude; that I can ever prove it, is more than I can say. So great have been your services that I do not think that I can rise to the requital of them, unless indeed, in your own impressive and eloquent words, you intend to regard me as paying the debt of gratitude so long as I bear that debt in remembrance. Had your own son's prestige been in question, you could not, I am sure, have acted with greater kindness. Your first motions in the Senate proposing unlimited grants to me, those later ones drawn up to meet the circumstances and the wishes of my friends, your constant public references to me, and your incessant altercations with my detractors on my account—all this is perfectly well known to me. I have to be more than ordinarily careful to prove myself deserving of your praise as a citizen in public life, and unforgetful of my gratitude to you as your private friend. As to the future, continue your generosity to me, and if in the issue of events you find me the man you wished me to be, take up my cause and defend me.

Having thrown my forces across the Rhone and 2
sent my brother forward with 3000 horse, when I

dirigerem, in itinere de praelio facto, Brutoque et Mutina obsidione liberatis audivi. Animadverti nullum alium receptum Antonium reliquiasque, quae cum eo essent, habere, nisi in his partibus; duasque ei spes esse propositas, unam Lepidi ipsius, alteram exercitus. Quod quaedam pars exercitus non minus furiosa est, quam qui cum Antonio fuerunt, equitatum revocavi; ipse in Allobrogibus constiti, ut proinde ad omnia paratus essem ac res me moneret. Si nudus huc se Antonius confert, facile mihi videor per me sustinere posse, remque publicam ex vestra sententia administrare, quamvis ab exercitu Lepidi recipiatur; si vero copiarum aliquid secum adducet, et si decima legio veterana, quae nostra opera revocata cum reliquis est, ad eumdem furorem redierit, tamen, ne quid detrimenti fiat, dabitur opera a me, idque me praestaturum spero, dum istinc copiae traiciantur, coniunctaeque nobiscum facilius perditos opprimant.

3 Hoc tibi spondeo, mi Cicero, neque animum nec diligentiam mihi defuturam. Cupio mehercules nullam residuam sollicitudinem esse; sed si fuerit, nec animo nec benevolentiae nec patientiae cuiusquam pro vobis cedam. Do quidem ego operam, ut etiam Lepidum ad huius rei societatem incitem, omniaque ei obsequia polliceor, si modo

was myself marching upon Mutina, I was told on the way of the battle that had been fought, and the delivery of Brutus and Mutina from their blockade. I took note of the fact that Antony and the remnants of his forces which accompanied him had no other place of retreat than in these parts; and that he had only two chances offered him, one depending on Lepidus himself, the other on his army. Since a certain part of this army is as infatuated as those who were with Antony, I have recalled my cavalry, and myself taken up my stand among the Allobroges, so as to be ready for any emergency as circumstances might direct. If Antony comes here without military support, I fancy I can easily resist him by myself, amd discharge my public duties to the satisfaction of the Senate, however warmly he may be welcomed by the army of Lepidus; but if he brings with him any considerable force, and I find that the veteran tenth legion, which was reclaimed by my efforts and is now with the rest, has relapsed into its former infatuation, even then I shall make every effort to prevent any disaster; and I hope to succeed in so doing, provided that reinforcements are hurried across from Rome, and by effecting a junction with me make it easier to crush these desperadoes.

This much, my dear Cicero, I can promise you— 3
there will be no lack of courage or careful strategy on my part. What I desire, I solemnly aver, is that no trace of anxiety should be left; but if there be, I shall yield to no man in courage, or in loyalty, or in perseverance on behalf of you all. Indeed I am making an effort to induce even Lepidus to enter into partnership with me in this business, and I promise to defer to him in every particular, if only

rempublicam respicere volet. Utor in hac re adiutoribus interpretibusque fratre meo, et Laterense et Furnio nostro. Non me impedient privatae offensiones, quo minus pro reipublicae salute etiam cum inimicissimo consentiam. Quod si nihil profecero, nihilominus maximo sum animo et maiore fortasse cum mea gloria vobis satisfaciam. Fac valeas, meque mutuo diligas.

XII

CICERO PLANCO

Romae, A.U.C. 711.

1 Etsi reipublicae causa maxime gaudere debeo, tantum ei te praesidi, tantum opis attulisse extremis paene temporibus, tamen ita te victorem complectar, republica recuperata, ut magnam partem mihi laetitiae tua dignitas afferat, quam et esse iam, et futuram amplissimam intellego. Cave enim putes, ullas umquam litteras gratiores quam tuas, in senatu esse recitatas. Idque contigit cum meritorum tuorum in rempublicam eximia quadam magnitudine, tum verborum sententiarumque gravitate. Quod mihi quidem minime novum, qui et te nossem et

[a] M. Juventius Laterensis was praetor in 51 B.C. and augur in 45; he was legate in Lepidus's army in 43, and, when that army joined Antony, committed suicide. He was a man of high principle, conscientious, and unflinchingly loyal to the Republic. He is the Laterensis referred to in viii. 8. 2.

he consents to respect the interests of the Republic. The assistants and intermediaries I am employing in this matter are my brother, and Laterensis [a] and our friend Furnius. No private causes of offence shall stand in the way of my agreeing even with my bitterest enemy for the salvation of the Republic. But if I prove to have been entirely unsuccessful, nevertheless my courage is high, and perhaps I shall satisfy your expectations by an enhancement of honour to myself. Be careful of your health, and let your affection for me be as mine for you.

XII

CICERO TO PLANCUS

Rome, April 11th, 43 B.C.

Although I am bound, as a Republican, to rejoice 1
exceedingly at your having given the Republic such powerful support and such valuable aid at an almost desperate crisis, yet, while I shall welcome you with open arms as a conqueror on the restoration of the Commonwealth, what contributes in large measure to my joy is your own position, which, I take it, already is, and hereafter will be, most magnificent. You must never suppose that any despatch ever read out in the Senate was more welcome than was yours. And this was due not only to a certain exceptional importance attaching to your services to the Republic, but also to the impressive dignity of your sentiments and the way you expressed them. To me indeed it was nothing new, because you were not unknown to me, because

tuarum litterarum ad me missarum promissa meminissem et haberem a Furnio nostro tua penitus consilia cognita. Sed senatui maiora visa sunt, quam erant exspectata; non quo umquam de tua voluntate dubitasset; sed nec, quantum facere posses, nec, quoad progredi velles, exploratum satis habebat.
2 Itaque cum a. d. VII. Idus Apriles mane mihi tuas litteras M. Varisidius reddidisset, easque legissem, incredibili gaudio sum elatus; cumque magna multitudo optimorum virorum et civium me domo deduceret, feci continuo omnes participes meae voluptatis. Interim ad me venit Munatius noster, ut consuerat; at ego ei litteras tuas; nihildum enim sciebat. Nam ad me primum Varisidius, idque sibi a te mandatum esse dicebat. Paullo post idem mihi Munatius eas litteras legendas dedit, quas ipsi miseras, et eas, quas
3 publice. Placuit nobis, ut statim ad Cornutum praetorem urbanum litteras deferremus, qui, quod consules aberant, consulare munus sustinebat more maiorum. Senatus est continuo convocatus, frequensque convenit propter famam atque exspectationem tuarum litterarum. Recitatis litteris, oblata religio Cornuto est pullariorum admonitu non satis diligenter eum auspiciis operam dedisse; idque a nostro collegio comprobatum est. Itaque res dilata est in posterum.

[a] *Cf.* x. 7. 1.

[b] A relative of Plancus, but not his brother, who was with him in Gaul.

[c] Officials in charge of the sacred chickens, who interpreted the omens "ex tripudiis"—the way in which the chickens fed and the grain fell to the ground.

I remembered the promises contained in the letters you sent me, and thirdly, because I had been made thoroughly acquainted with your purposes by our friend Furnius. But to the Senate your words appeared to transcend all expectation; not that it had ever entertained a doubt of your good intentions, but it had insufficient assurance either as to how much you were able to do, or as to how far you were willing to go.

So, when on the morning of April 7 M. Varisidius [a] 2
had handed me your letter and I had read it, you could not believe the ecstasy of my joy; and as I was being escorted from my house by a huge throng of the most patriotic men and citizens, I immediately made them all sharers in my happiness.

Meanwhile our friend Munatius [b] paid me a visit, as he often does. Well, I gave him your letter, for up to that moment he had learnt nothing, I being the first to whom Varisidius had come, saying that such were your instructions to him. A little later Munatius also gave me to read the private letter you had sent to himself and the public despatch too.

We decided to lay the letter forthwith before 3
the City praetor Cornutus, who, in the absence of the consuls, was, according to the traditional practice, discharging the consular duties. The senate was immediately convened, and there was a large attendance owing to all the talk and the expectations roused by your despatch. After it had been read out, Cornutus was faced with a religious difficulty, the *pullarii* [c] drawing his notice to the fact that he had not attended with all due formality to the auspices; and the irregularity was confirmed by our college of augurs, and so the business was put off

Eo autem die magna mihi pro tua dignitate contentio cum Servilio; qui cum gratia effecisset, ut sua sententia prima pronuntiaretur, frequens eum senatus reliquit et in alia omnia discessit; meaeque sententiae, quae secunda pronuntiata erat, cum frequenter assentiretur senatus, rogatu Servili P. Titius
4 intercessit. Res in posterum dilata. Venit paratus Servilius, Iovi ipsi iniquus, cuius in templo res agebatur. Hunc quemadmodum fregerim, quantaque contentione Titium intercessorem abiecerim, ex aliorum te litteris malo cognoscere,—unum hoc ex meis: senatus gravior, constantior, amicior tuis laudibus esse non potuit, quam tum fuit; nec vero tibi senatus amicior, quam cuncta civitas. Mirabiliter enim populus Romanus universus et omnium generum ordinumque consensus ad liberandam rempublicam
5 conspiravit. Perge igitur, ut agis, nomenque tuum commenda immortalitati, atque haec omnia, quae habent speciem gloriae, collecta inanibus splendoris insignibus, contemne, brevia, fucata,[1] caduca existima. Verum decus in virtute positum est, quae maxime illustratur magnis in rempublicam meritis. Eam facultatem habes maximam; quam quando com-

[1] *H. Pal.*: fugatia *M*: fugacia *alii.*

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[a] P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus, consul with Caesar in 48 B.C. He seems to have been at enmity with Plancus.

[b] Tribune of the Plebs. He is again mentioned in x. 21. 3.

[c] A proverbial expression of doubtful origin, meaning passionate and unrestrained defiance.

till the following day. On that day, however, I had a serious altercation in defence of your claims with Servilius,[a] who had contrived by his influence that his own motion should be put first; but a large number of senators turned their backs upon him, and voted for a direct negative. And when my motion, which came next, was being agreed to by a majority of the senate, P. Titius,[b] at the instance of Servilius, interposed his veto. The matter was
put off till the following day. Up comes Servilius, 4
ready for the fray, "shaking his fists at Jupiter himself,"[c] whose temple was the scene of the debate. How I crushed him, and with what vehemence of oratory I rolled Titius, for all his vetoing, in the dust, I prefer you should learn from the letters of others—this much only from mine: never could the Senate have been more in earnest, more determined, or more friendly in its appreciation of your achievements than it was on that occasion; and indeed the Senate is no more friendly to you than the whole body of citizens. It is marvellous how the entire population of Rome, of every class and order, is of one mind in its united desire for the deliverance of the Republic.

Go on then in your own way, and commend your 5
name to everlasting remembrance; as for all these distinctions, a mere congeries of the meaningless symbols of splendour, though possessing the outward appearance of glory, spurn them, deem them ephemeral, mere seductive forgeries, doomed to fade away. True honour lies in worth, which finds its brightest lustre in serving the State with distinction. For so doing you have a brilliant opportunity, and now that you have embraced it, and

plexus es, et tenes,[1] perfice, ut ne minus respublica tibi quam tu reipublicae debeas. Me tuae dignitatis non modo fautorem, sed etiam amplificatorem cognosces. Id cum reipublicae, quae mihi vita est mea carior, tum nostrae necessitudini debere me iudico. Atque in his curis, quas contuli ad dignitatem tuam, cepi magnam voluptatem, quod bene cognitam mihi T. Munati prudentiam et fidem magis etiam perspexi in eius incredibili erga te benevolentia et diligentia. III. Idus Apriles.

XIII

CICERO PLANCO

Romae, A.U.C. 711.

1 Ut primum potestas data est augendae dignitatis tuae, nihil praetermisi in te ornando, quod positum esset aut in praemio virtutis, aut in honore verborum. Id ex ipso senatus consulto poteris cognoscere; ita enim est perscriptum, ut a me de scripto dicta sententia est; quam senatus frequens secutus est
2 summo studio magnoque consensu. Ego quamquam ex tuis litteris, quas mihi misisti, perspexeram, te magis iudicio bonorum, quam insignibus gloriae

[1] *H. Pal.*: complexus es, tene *M*.

have it in your grasp, so act as to ensure that the State's debt to you is no less than yours to the State. You will find in me one who will not only encourage, but promote your advancement. So much I consider I owe both to the Republic, which is dearer to me than my very life, and to the intimacy of our friendship.

I may add that, amid all these anxieties which have been my contribution to the maintenance of your high position, it has been a great pleasure that, well acquainted as I was with the shrewdness and honesty of T. Munatius,[a] I had a yet clearer proof of it in his extraordinary friendliness towards you, and his careful attention to your interests. April 11.

XIII

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, about May 10th, 43 B.C.

As soon as ever I had the opportunity given me of 1
promoting your advancement, I left nothing undone to do you honour, whether in the way of reward for valour, or of complimentary expression. So much you can see from the decree of the Senate itself; for it was drafted in the exact terms of the motion I read out from my own manuscript, and it was passed by a full Senate with the greatest enthusiasm and remarkable unanimity.

Although the letter you sent me had conclusively 2
proved to me that you were more pleased with the verdict of sound citizens than with any tokens of

[a] The Munatius mentioned in § 2 above.

delectari, tamen considerandum nobis existimavi, etiamsi tu nihil postulares, quantum tibi a republica deberetur. Tu contexes extrema cum primis. Qui enim M. Antonium oppresserit, is bellum confecerit. Itaque Homerus non Aiacem, nec Achillem, sed Ulixem appellavit *πτολίπορθον*.

XIV

CICERO PLANCO S.

Romae, A.U.C. 711.

1 O gratam famam biduo ante victoriam, de subsidio tuo, de studio, de celeritate, de copiis! Atqui[1] etiam hostibus fusis spes omnis in te est. Fugisse enim ex proelio Mutinensi dicuntur notissimi latronum duces. Est autem non minus gratum extrema
2 delere quam prima depellere. Equidem exspectabam iam tuas litteras, idque cum multis, sperabamque etiam Lepidum, temporibus admonitum, tecum et cum republica esse facturum. In illam igitur curam incumbe, mi Plance, ut ne qua scintilla taeterrimi belli relinquatur. Quod si erit factum, et rempublicam divino beneficio affeceris, et ipse aeternam gloriam consequere. D. III. Non. Mai.

[1] *Manutius and Wesenberg*: atque *vulg.*

[a] Or, as S. H. Jeyes renders it, "your end shall be *of a piece* with the beginning."

[b] Since Ulysses by the ruse of the Trojan Horse succeeded where Ajax and Achilles had failed.

According to our text of the *Iliad*, Achilles is called *πτολίπορθος* four times; but the later Romans appear to have followed the text of Aristarchus, who rejected as spurious the lines in which that epithet is applied to Achilles.

honour, still I thought it our duty to take into consideration, even though you yourself made no claim, the question of the State's great indebtedness to you. You will, I am sure, see to it that your *finale* accords with your *ouverture*.[a] For the man who crushes Antony will have finished the war. On the same principle, Homer did not give to Ajax or Achilles, but to Ulysses, the title of "Sacker of the City."[b]

XIV

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, May 5th, 43 B.C.

What a delightful report we heard two days before the victory about the reinforcements you were bringing up, your enthusiasm, your rapidity, your forces! And yet even now that the enemy has been routed, all our hope lies in you. For it is said that the most notorious ringleaders of those brigands have escaped from the battle of Mutina. But finally to destroy a foe wins no less gratitude than to repulse his first attack. 1

For my own part, I am eagerly awaiting your despatch, and many others are doing so too; and I hope also that Lepidus will take warning from the present state of affairs and co-operate with you and the Republic. Therefore, my dear Plancus, regard it as an urgent charge upon you to leave alight no single spark of this most hideous war. If this be done, you will have bestowed a higher than human blessing upon the State, and will yourself win everlasting glory. May 5th. 2

XV

PLANCUS CICERONI

Ad Cularonem, A.U.C. 711.

1 His litteris scriptis, quae postea accidissent, scire te ad rempublicam putavi pertinere. Sedulitas mea, ut spero, et mihi et reipublicae tulit fructum. Namque assiduis internuntiis cum Lepido egi, ut, omissa omni contentione reconciliataque voluntate nostra, communi consilio reipublicae succurreret; se, liberos Urbemque pluris quam unum perditum abiectumque latronem putaret; obsequioque meo, si ita faceret,
2 ad omnes res abuteretur. Profeci; itaque per Laterensem internuntium fidem mihi dedit, se Antonium, si prohibere provincia sua non potuisset, bello persecuturum; me, ut venirem copiasque coniungerem, rogavit; eoque magis, quod et Antonius ab equitatu firmus esse dicebatur, et Lepidus ne mediocrem quidem equitatum habebat. Nam etiam ex paucitate eius, non multis ante diebus, decem, qui optimi fuerant, ad me transierant. Quibus rebus ego cognitis, cunctatus non sum; in cursu bonorum
3 consiliorum Lepidum adiuvandum putavi. Adventus meus quid profecturus esset, vidi; vel quod equitatu meo persequi atque opprimere equitatum eius pos-

[a] Grenoble.
[b] The reference is to *Ep.* 11.

XV

PLANCUS TO CICERO

Near Cularo,[a] May 13th, 43 B.C.

After this letter had been written,[b] I thought it of 1
public importance that you should know what has happened subsequently. My assiduity has borne good fruit, I hope, both for myself and the Republic. By means of my busy intermediaries, I urged Lepidus to drop all disputes, to become reconciled with us in a friendly spirit, and to come to the aid of the Republic by joining me in my policy; to esteem himself, his children, and the City, of greater value than one single desperate and humiliated brigand, and, on these terms to avail himself to the
full of my compliance with all his projects. I made 2
some progress with him; so through my agent Laterensis he has pledged his word to me that he will harry Antony with the sword, should he fail to keep him outside his province; he has asked me to come over to him, and combine our forces, and he is all the more urgent because it was stated that Antony was strong in point of cavalry, while Lepidus is not even tolerably well supplied in that department. For not many days before, the ten most efficient troopers out of his meagre muster had crossed over to my camp. On ascertaining this, I no longer hesitated, thinking it my duty to encourage Lepidus in keeping to the path of loyalty.

I saw the good effect my arrival was likely to have, 3
as I thought I could either with my cavalry hunt down and crush Antony's, or, by having my army on the

sem, vel quod exercitus Lepidi eam partem, quae corrupta est et ab republica alienata, et corrigere et coercere praesentia mei exercitus possem. Itaque in Isara, flumine maximo, quod in finibus est Allobrogum, ponte uno die facto, exercitum a. d. quartum Idus Maias traduxi. Cum vero mihi nuntiatum esset L. Antonium praemissum cum equitibus et cohortibus ad Forum Iuli venisse; fratrem cum equitum quattuor millibus, ut occurreret ei, misi a. d. III. Idus Maias; ipse maximis itineribus cum quattuor legionibus expeditis et reliquo equitatu subsequar.

4 Si nos mediocris modo fortuna reipublicae adiuverit, et audaciae perditorum et nostrae sollicitudinis hic finem reperiemus. Quod si latro, praecognito nostro adventu, rursus in Italiam se recipere coeperit, Bruti erit officium occurrere ei; cui scio nec consilium nec animum defuturum. Ego tamen, si id acciderit, fratrem cum equitatu mittam, qui sequatur, Italiam a vastatione defendat. Fac valeas, meque mutuo diligas.

XVI

CICERO PLANCO

Romae, A.U.C. 711.

1 Nihil post hominum memoriam gloriosius, nihil gratius, ne tempore quidem ipso opportunius accidere vidi, quam tuas, Plance, litteras. Redditae sunt enim frequenti senatu Cornuto, cum is frigidas sane

spot, reform and control that section of Lepidus's army which was corrupt and disaffected. I therefore built a bridge in one day over the Isara, the widest river in the territory of the Allobroges, and took my army across on May 12. When, however, it was reported to me that L. Antonius had been sent with an advanced party of cavalry and some cohorts, and had reached Forum Julii, I sent my brother on the 13th to meet him, and I shall myself follow on closely by forced marches, with four lightly equipped legions and the rest of my cavalry.

If we are only helped to a moderate degree by 4 the fortune of the Republic, we shall here find an end alike to the temerity of these desperadoes, and our own anxiety. But should our brigand get early intelligence of our arrival, and again take measures to withdraw into Italy, the duty of meeting him will fall upon Brutus, and he, I am sure, will not be found wanting either in strategy or spirit. In that case I shall nevertheless send my brother with his cavalry to pursue the enemy and protect Italy from being devastated. Mind you keep well and love me as I love you.

XVI

CICERO TO PLANCUS

Rome, about May 27th, 43 B.C.

Never within living memory have I seen anything 1 more glorious, more gratifying, or more exactly opportune in point of time, Plancus, than your despatch. It was delivered to Cornutus in a full Senate, just after he had read out the despatch of Lepidus, and a very bleak and shuffling communica-

et inconstantes recitasset litteras Lepidi. Sub eas statim recitatae sunt tuae, non sine magnis quidem clamoribus. Cum rebus enim ipsis essent et studiis beneficiisque in rempublicam gratissimae, tum erant gravissimis verbis ac sententiis. Flagitare senatus institit Cornutum, ut referret statim de tuis litteris. Ille, se considerare velle. Cum ei magnum convicium fieret cuncto a senatu, quinque tribuni plebei retulerunt. Servilius rogatus rem distulit; ego eam sententiam dixi, cui sunt assensi ad unum. Ea quae
2 fuerit, ex senatus consulto cognosces. Tu, quamquam consilio non eges, vel abundas potius, tamen hoc animo esse debes, ut nihil huc reicias, neve in rebus tam subitis tamque angustis a senatu consilium petendum putes. Ipse tibi sis senatus; quocumque te ratio reipublicae ducet, sequare. Cures, ut ante factum aliquod a te egregium audiamus, quam futurum putarimus. Illud tibi promitto, quidquid a te erit factum, id senatum, non modo ut fideliter, sed etiam ut sapienter factum, comprobaturum.

[a] For motions made by tribunes of the plebs in the Senate see *Phil.* iii. 13, and vii. 1.

tion that was. Immediately after it yours was read out, and not without loud applause. For most warmly welcome as it was for its actual contents and the zealous services to the State they recorded, it was no less acceptable for its very impressive language and sentiments. The Senate excitedly and insistently pressed Cornutus to put the question of your despatch before the House without a moment's delay. He replied that he wished to consider the matter. When the whole Senate gave angry vent to its displeasure, five tribunes of the plebs brought forward a motion.[a] Servilius, on being called upon, proposed that the matter be deferred; I then formally expressed my opinion, and the Senate agreed with me to a man. What that opinion was you will learn from the decree of the Senate.

As to yourself, though you are not lacking in 2
discretion, or, I should rather say, possess it in abundance, still you ought to make up your mind never to refer any question to Rome, and never amid emergencies so sudden and embarrassing to think it incumbent upon you to consult the Senate. Be a Senate unto yourself, and follow whatever path is indicated by your consideration for the public welfare. Make a special point of letting us hear of some brilliant exploit on your part, before we ever expected it to happen. This I promise you, that whatever your achievement, the Senate will heartily applaud it as a proof, not only of your loyalty, but also of your wisdom.

XVII

PLANCUS CICERONI

In itinere ad Forum Voconi, A.U.C. 711.

1 Antonius Id. Maiis ad Forum Iuli cum primis copiis venit. Ventidius bidui spatio abest ab eo. Lepidus ad Forum Voconi castra habet, qui locus a Foro Iuli quattuor viginti millia passuum abest, ibique me exspectare constituit, quemadmodum ipse mihi scripsit. Quod si omnia mihi integra et ipse et fortuna servarit, recipio vobis celeriter me negotium
2 ex sententia confecturum. Fratrem meum, assiduis laboribus concursationibusque confectum, graviter se habuisse, antea tibi scripsi; sed tamen cum primum posse ingredi coepit, non magis sibi quam reipublicae se convaluisse existimans, ad omnia pericula princeps esse non recusavit. Sed ego eum non solum hortatus sum, verum etiam coegi isto proficisci, quod et illa valetudine magis conficere se, quam me iuvare posset in castris, et quod acerbissimo interitu consulum rempublicam nudatam tali cive praetore in urbanis officiis indigere existimabam. Quod si qui vestrum non probabit, mihi prudentiam in consilio
3 defuisse sciat, non illi erga patriam fidelitatem. Lepidus tamen, quod ego desiderabam, fecit, ut Apel-

[a] For this man's rise from slave to consul see Gellius, xv. 4. In early life he contracted for supplying the provincial governors with mules and carriages, and owed his success to his prompt execution of their orders.

[b] An inland town about 24 miles due west of Forum Julii, now Le Canet. Forum Julii is the modern Fréjus.

XVII

PLANCUS TO CICERO

On the march to Forum Voconii, May 20th, 43 B.C.

Antony arrived at Forum Julii with his first 1
division on May 15. Ventidius[a] is two days' march away from him. Lepidus has his camp at Forum Voconii,[b] a place twenty-four miles away, and that is where, according to his own letter, he has arranged to await me. But if only Lepidus himself, and fortune, keep me a perfectly free field, I give you my assurance that I shall speedily settle the business to your satisfaction.

I informed you in a previous letter that my 2
brother, exhausted by his incessant exertions and constantly hurrying from place to place, was seriously ill; but in spite of that, as soon as ever he could put foot to ground, reflecting that his recovery was no greater benefit to himself than to the State, he did not shrink from taking the lead when any danger was to be met. However I not only urged him, but even compelled him to start for Rome, because (as I argued) in his state of health he could more easily wear himself out, than be of any assistance to me in camp, and also because I really thought that the Republic, left desolate by the tragic fall of her consuls, stood in need of such a citizen to act as praetor in the business of the City. And if any man among you disapproves of my action, let me assure him that it was I who lacked prudence in so advising, and not he who lacked loyalty to his country.

Anyhow Lepidus—and that is just what I wanted 3
—arranged to send me Apella, for me to use him as

lam ad me mitteret, quo obside fide illius et societatis in republica administranda uterer. Studium mihi suum L. Gellius de tribus fratribus se segregando[1] probavit; quo ego interprete novissime ad Lepidum sum usus. Amicum eum reipublicae cognosse videor, libenterque ei sum testimonio, et omnibus ero, qui bene merentur. Fac valeas, meque mutuo diligas, dignitatemque meam, si mereor, tuearis, sicut adhuc singulari cum benevolentia fecisti.

XVIII

PLANCUS CICERONI

In castris Gallicis, A.U.C. 711.

1 Quid in animo habuerim, cum Laevus Nervaque discesserunt a me, et ex litteris, quas eis dedi, et ex ipsis cognoscere potuisti, qui omnibus rebus consiliisque meis interfuerunt. Accidit mihi, quod homini pudenti et cupido satisfaciendi reipublicae bonisque omnibus accidere solet, ut consilium sequerer periculosum magis, dum me probarem, quam
2 tutum, quod habere posset obtrectationem. Itaque post discessum legatorum, cum binis continuis litteris et Lepidus me, ut venirem, rogaret, et Laterensis multo etiam magis, prope implorans, obtestaretur, non ullam rem aliam extimescens, quam eamdem, quae mihi quoque facit timorem, varietatem atque

[1] *The text here is hopelessly corrupt. Out of many conjectures I have adopted Giltbrauer's* se segregando *as being the most probable.*

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[a] Laevus Cispius and Nerva were legates of Plancus. The former is again mentioned in x. 21. 3.

a hostage for his own good faith and partnership with me in the administration of the Republic. L. Gellius proved his devotion to me by detaching himself from his three brothers; he is the man I employed as intermediary in my last mission to Lepidus. I fancy I have found in him a true friend to the State, and I shall be glad to offer my testimony on his behalf, and on behalf of all others who deserve well of the State.

Mind you keep well, and love me as I love you; and if I deserve it, uphold my position, as indeed you have done hitherto with extraordinary friendliness.

XVIII

THE SAME TO CICERO

Camp in Gaul, May 18th, 43 B.C.

What I had in my mind when Laevus and Nerva[a] 1
left me you have been able to gather from the letter I gave them, and from the men themselves, who have participated in all my affairs and deliberations. It has been my lot, as it is often the lot of a man of honour, and anxious to satisfy the claims of the Republic, and indeed of all good men, to pursue a policy of danger to my own satisfaction, rather than one of safety, which might possibly expose me to reproach.

So after the departure of his legates, when Lepidus 2
in two letters with no interval between them, begged me to join him, and Laterensis in much stronger terms entreated me, nay almost implored me, to do so, since he dreaded nothing so much as just that which causes me also apprehension,—I mean the fickleness

infidelitatem exercitus eius, non dubitandum putavi, quin succurrerem meque communi periculo offerrem. Sciebam enim, etsi cautius illud erat consilium, exspectare me ad Isaram, dum Brutus traiiceret exercitum, et cum collega consentiente, exercitu concordi et bene de republica sentiente, sicut milites faciunt, hostibus obviam ire, tamen, si quid Lepidus bene sentiens detrimenti cepisset, hoc omne assignatum iri aut pertinaciae meae aut timori videbam, si aut hominem offensum mihi, coniunctum cum republica non sublevassem, aut ipse a certamine belli tam
3 necessarii me removissem. Itaque potius periclitari volui, si possem mea praesentia et Lepidum tueri et exercitum facere meliorem, quam nimis cautus videri. Sollicitiorem certe hominem, non suis contractis, neminem puto fuisse. Nam, quae res nullam habebat dubitationem, si exercitus Lepidi absit, ea nunc magnam affert sollicitudinem, magnumque habet casum. Mihi enim si contigisset, ut prior occurrerem Antonio, non mehercules horam constitisset; tantum ego et mihi confido et perculsas illius copias Ventidique mulionis castra despicio. Sed non possum non exhorrescere, si quid intra cutem subest ulceris, quod prius nocere potest, quam sciri curarique possit. Sed certe, nisi uno loco me tenerem, mag-

[a] See note *a* on xvii. 1.

and disaffection of Lepidus's army,—I decided that I ought to show no hesitation in hurrying to his assistance, and facing the common danger. For I was well aware—although the safer course was for me to wait on the Isara until Brutus brought his army over, and then with a colleague in full sympathy with me and with an army of the same mind and loyally inclined towards the Republic, as his soldiers certainly are, to go to meet the enemy—still, as I say, if any disaster befel Lepidus while loyally inclined towards the Republic, I foresaw that the whole blame would be attributed to my obstinacy, or else to my lack of courage—to the former for having failed to come to the relief of one who, though in close union with the Republic, was personally at feud with me, or to the latter for having deliberately withdrawn at such a crisis from a campaign so unavoidable.

I therefore proposed to run the risk, in case I 3
might protect Lepidus by being on the spot, and effect an improvement in his army, rather than appear unduly cautious. Anyhow, I don't believe that anybody was ever in such a quandary through no fault of his own. For the very position of affairs, which contained no element of doubt, if only Lepidus's army were out of the way, now causes me serious anxiety and involves serious risk. Indeed, had it been my good luck to be the first to encounter Antony, I swear that he would not have held his ground for a single hour; such is my confidence in myself, and such my contempt for his stricken forces and the camp of that mule-driver Ventidius.[a] But I cannot help shuddering at the thought of some ulcer lying under the skin that may do mischief before it is diagnosed and treated. But undoubtedly, unless I remained in

num periculum ipse Lepidus, magnum ea pars exercitus adiret, quae bene de republica sentit. Magnam etiam perditi hostes accessionem sibi fecissent, si quas copias a Lepido abstraxissent. Quae si adventus meus represserit, agam gratias fortunae constantiaeque meae, quae ad hanc ex-
4 perientiam excitavit. Itaque a. d. XII. Kalend. Iun. ab Isara castra movi; pontem tamen, quem in Isara feceram, castellis duobus ad capita positis, reliqui praesidiaque ibi firma posui, ut venienti Bruto exercituique eius sine mora transitus esset paratus. Ipse, ut spero, diebus octo, quibus has litteras dabam, cum Lepidi copiis me coniungam.

XIX

CICERO PLANCO

Romae, A.U.C. 711.

1 Quamquam gratiarum actionem a te non desiderabam, cum te re ipsa atque animo scirem esse gratissimum, tamen (fatendum est enim) fuit ea mihi periucunda. Sic enim vidi, quasi ea, quae oculis cernuntur, me a te amari. Dices, quid antea? Semper equidem; sed numquam illustrius. Litterae tuae mirabiliter gratae fuerunt senatui, cum rebus ipsis,

[a] *i.e.*, "did you not think I loved you before?"

the same place with him, a great risk would be incurred by Lepidus himself, and one equally great by that part of his army which is loyally inclined towards the Republic. Those desperadoes, the enemy, too, would have gained no small an addition to their strength, had they succeeded in withdrawing any of his troops from Lepidus. If I put a stop to all this by my arrival there, I shall thank my good luck and determination—for it was that which prompted me to make the experiment.

On May 20th therefore I struck my camp on the 4
Isara; I left behind me, however, the bridge I had built over that river, after planting a fort at either end, and I posted strong garrisons there, so that when Brutus and his army arrived, they should not be held up, but find the crossing ready prepared for them. I shall myself, I hope, within eight days after the despatch of this letter, effect a junction with the forces of Lepidus.

XIX

CICERO TO PLANCUS

Rome, about May 27th, 43 B.C.

Though I looked for no expression of thanks from 1
you, because I knew you to be most grateful in very deed and thought, still (I must confess) it gave me extreme pleasure. For I saw as clearly as what is visible to the eye, that I am beloved by you. You will say "how about previously?"[a] Well, it was always evident to me, but never more conspicuously.

Your despatch was amazingly acceptable to the Senate, not only for its subject matter, itself of the

quae erant gravissimae et maximae, fortissimi animi, summique consili, tum etiam gravitate sententiarum
2 atque verborum. Sed, mi Plance, incumbe, ut belli extrema perficias. In hoc erit summa et gratia et gloria. Cupio omnia reipublicae causa; sed, mehercules, in ea conservanda iam defatigatus, non multo plus patriae faveo quam tuae gloriae; cuius maximam facultatem tibi di immortales, ut spero, dedere; quam complectere, obsecro. Qui enim Antonium oppresserit, is hoc bellum taeterrimum periculosissimumque confecerit.

XX

CICERO PLANCO

Romae, A.U.C. 711.

1 Ita erant omnia, quae istinc afferebantur, incerta, ut, quid ad te scriberem, non occurreret. Modo enim, quae vellemus, de Lepido, modo contra nuntiabantur. De te tamen fama constans, nec decipi posse nec vinci; quorum alterius fortuna partem habet quamdam, alterum proprium est prudentiae
2 tuae. Sed accepi litteras a collega tuo, datas Idibus Maiis, in quibus erat, te ad se scripsisse, a Lepido non

greatest gravity and moment, and indicative of conspicuous courage combined with admirable judgment, but also for its impressive sentiments impressively expressed.

But, my dear Plancus, apply yourself with all 2
your energy to the decisive completion of the war. It is in that you will find the culmination of your popularity and glory. All my desires are concentrated in the cause of the Republic; but, utterly worn out as I am by my efforts to save it, I protest that I am now not much more zealous for my country, than for your renown; and the immortal gods have, I am glad to think, given you a glorious opportunity of establishing it; that opportunity I implore you to embrace. The man who crushes Antony will have terminated this most hideous and hazardous war.

XX

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, May 29th, 43 B.C.

All the news brought us from where you are is so 1
vague, that what I should write to you is not very obvious. At one moment the reports about Lepidus are all that we could wish, at another quite the reverse. What is said about you, however, never varies—that you can be neither cajoled nor conquered; in the latter case fortune plays a certain part, in the other all is due to your own sagacity.

But I had a letter, dated May 15th, from your 2
colleague, which stated that you had written to him saying that Antony was not being well received by

recipi Antonium; quod erit certius, si tu ad nos idem scripseris; sed minus audes fortasse propter inanem laetitiam litterarum superiorum. Verum, ut errare, mi Plance, potuisti (quis enim id effugerit?), sic decipi te non potuisse, quis non videt? Nunc vero etiam erroris causa sublata est. Culpa enim illa, *bis ad eumdem*, vulgari reprehensa proverbio est. Sin, ut scripsisti ad collegam, ita se res habet, omni cura liberati sumus; nec tamen erimus prius, quam ita
3 esse tu nos feceris certiores. Mea quidem, ut ad te saepius scripsi, haec sententia est: Qui reliquias huius belli oppresserit, eum totius belli confectorem fore; quem te et opto esse et confido futurum. Studia mea erga te, quibus certe nulla esse maiora potuerunt, tibi tam grata esse quam ego putavi fore, minime miror vehementerque laetor. Quae quidem tu, si recte istic erit, maiora et graviora cognosces. IV. Kalendas Iunias.

XXI

PLANCUS CICERONI

In castris ad Isaram, A.U.C. 711.

1 Puderet me inconstantiae mearum litterarum, si non haec ex aliena levitate penderent. Omnia feci,

[a] x. 15. 1 and 2.

[b] *Sc.* "offendere lapidem turpe," "it does a man no credit to stub his toe twice against the same stone." The Greek original is *δὶς πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν αἰσχρὸν εἰσκρούειν λίθον*. We say "A burnt child fears the fire" or "Once bitten twice shy."

Lepidus; I shall feel more certain about it if you write to me to the same effect; but perhaps you rather shrink from doing so, because the cheerful tone of your previous letter[a] was not justified. As a matter of fact, while it is possible that you might have been mistaken (for who is infallible?), everybody must see that you could not possibly have been duped. Now, however, you are left without even the excuse of making a mistake; for the fatuity of "twice against the same stone"[b] is held up to reproach in a familiar proverb. But if things are as you wrote to your colleague, we are freed from all anxiety; and yet we shall not really be so, until we are informed that such is the case by yourself.

My own opinion, as I have repeatedly written to 3
you, is just this, that the man who obliterates the last traces of this war, will have the credit of its entire completion; I pray that that man is, and I am confident that he will be, none other than yourself. I am not in the least surprised, and am highly delighted, that the proofs of my devotion to you—and certainly none could be more convincing—are as gratifying to you as I thought they would be; and if all goes well with you, you will find them yet more convincing and of greater consequence. May 29th.

XXI

PLANCUS TO CICERO

Camp on the Isara, May 15th, 43 B.C.

I should be ashamed of the inconsistency in the 1
tone of my letters, were it not attributable to the shiftiness of another. I left no stone unturned to

quare, Lepido coniuncto ad rempublicam defendendam, minore sollicitudine vestra perditis resisterem. Omnia ei et petenti recepi, et ultro pollicitus sum, scripsique tibi biduo ante, confidere me bono Lepido esse usurum communique consilio bellum administraturum. Credidi chirographis eius, affirmationi praesentis Laterensis, qui tum apud me erat, reconciliaremque me Lepido fidemque haberem, orabat. Non licuit diutius bene de eo sperare. Illud certe cavi et cavebo, ne mea credulitate reipublicae summa
2 fallatur. Cum Isaram flumen, uno die ponte effecto, exercitum traduxissem, pro magnitudine rei celeritatem adhibens, quod petierat per litteras ipse, ut maturarem venire, praesto mihi fuit stator eius cum litteris, quibus, ne venirem, denuntiabat; se posse per se conficere negotium; interea ad Isaram exspectarem. Indicabo temerarium meum consilium tibi; nihilominus ire decreram, existimans eum socium gloriae vitare. Putabam posse me nec de laude ieiuni hominis delibare quidquam, et subesse tamen propinquis locis, ut, si durius aliquid esset,
3 succurrere celeriter possem. Ego non malus homo hoc suspicabar. At Laterensis, vir sanctissimus, suo

join forces with Lepidus for the defence of the Republic, and so resist the desperadoes with less anxiety to you all. There is nothing I did not either pledge myself to do at his request, or promise to do unasked, and I wrote to you two days ago, saying I felt sure I should find Lepidus an honourable man, and have his co-operation in the conduct of the war. I put my trust in his autograph letters, and the personal protestations of Laterensis, who was staying with me at the time, and kept begging of me to be reconciled to Lepidus, and put my faith in him. It has proved impossible to have good hopes of him any longer. Of one thing, assuredly, I have been, or shall be careful—that the interests of the Republic are not betrayed by my credulity.

Having taken my army across the river Isara by 2
a bridge that was built in one day, and making as much haste as so important a matter demanded, since he himself had urged me by letter to come as soon as possible, I found his orderly awaiting me there with a despatch in which he gave me strict injunctions *not* to come, adding that he could settle the business by himself, and that meantime I was to wait for him on the Isara. I shall make no secret to you of my rash determination; I decided to go all the same, suspecting that he only wished to shirk having to share his glory with another. I thought that, without nibbling a morsel off the hungry fellow's credit, I could still be in the neighbourhood for him to fall back upon, so that, if anything untoward occurred, I might give him prompt assistance.

That is how I, not being an evil-disposed person, 3
was looking at the matter. But Laterensis, a man

chirographo mittit mihi litteras, in eisque desperans de se, de exercitu, de Lepidi fide, querensque se destitutum, aperte denuntiat, videam, ne fallar; suam fidem solutam esse; reipublicae ne desim. Exemplar eius chirographi Titio misi. Ipsa chirographa omnia, et quibus credidi, et ea, quibus fidem non habendam putavi, Laevo Cispio dabo perferenda,
4 qui omnibus iis interfuit rebus. Accessit eo, ut milites eius, cum Lepidus contionaretur, improbi per se, corrupti etiam per eos, qui praesunt, Canidios Rufrenosque et ceteros, quos, cum opus erit, scietis, conclamarint viri boni, pacem se velle neque esse cum ullis pugnaturos, duobus iam consulibus singularibus occisis, tot civibus pro patria amissis, hostibus denique omnibus iudicatis bonisque publicatis. Neque hoc
5 aut vindicarat Lepidus aut sanarat. Huc me venire et duobus exercitibus coniunctis obicere exercitum fidelissimum, auxilia maxima, principes Galliae, provinciam cunctam, summae dementiae et temeritatis esse vidi, mihique, si ita oppressus essem remque publicam mecum prodidissem, mortuo non modo honorem, sed misericordiam quoque defuturam. Itaque rediturus sum nec tanta munera perditis

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[a] Probably P. Titius, the tribune of the plebs mentioned in x. 12. 3.

[b] See x. 18. 1.

[c] Legates or centurions, no doubt, in the army of Lepidus.

of unimpeachable character, sends me a letter in his own handwriting, in which he despairs of himself, the army, and Lepidus's honesty, complains that he has been left in the lurch, and frankly warns me to be on my guard against being imposed upon, adding that for his own part he had kept his word, and urging me to be true to the Republic. I have sent a copy of his original letter to Titius.[a] I shall entrust the delivery of all the originals, both those I considered genuine and those I did not think should be relied upon, to Laevus Cispius,[b] who has been engaged in all these transactions.

There is this further fact, that when Lepidus was 4
haranguing them, his men, disloyal in themselves, and corrupted also by their officers, the Canidiuses[c] and Rufrenuses[c] and the rest of that gang—you will know all about them when the time comes—shouted in unison, fine patriots as they are, that what they wanted was peace, and that they were not going to fight for any party, after two illustrious consuls had already been slain, so many citizens lost fighting for their country, and all of them, in fine, condemned as public enemies, and their possessions confiscated. Now this outburst had been neither punished nor quelled by Lepidus.

To come here then and expose my very loyal 5
army, my very numerous auxiliaries, the chief men of Gaul, and the entire province to a combination of two armies—this I saw to be the height of madness and temerity. I saw too that, if I were overwhelmed in this way, and had betrayed the State together with myself, not only should I have no honour shown me after my death, but no pity either. I am therefore resolved to return; and will not permit the

6 hominibus dari posse sinam. Ut exercitum locis habeam opportunis, provinciam tuear, etiamsi ille exercitus descierit, omniaque integra servem, dabo operam, quoad exercitus huc summittatis parique felicitate rempublicam hic vindicetis. Nec depugnare, si occasio tulerit, nec obsideri, si necesse fuerit, nec mori, si casus inciderit, pro vobis paratior fuit quisquam. Quare hortor te, mi Cicero, exercitum huc traiciendum quam primum cures et matures prius quam hostes magis corroborentur et nostri perturbentur. In quo si celeritas erit adhibita, respublica in possessione victoriae, deletis sceleratis, permanebit.

7 Fac valeas, meque diligas. Fratrem meum tibi, fortissimum civem et ad omnia paratissimum, excusem litteris? qui ex labore in febriculam incidit assiduam et satis molestam. Cum primum poterit istuc recurrere, non dubitabit, ne quo loco reipublicae desit. Meam dignitatem commendatam habeas, rogo. Concupiscere me nihil oportet; habeo te et amantissimum mei et, quod optavi, summae auctoritatis. Tu videris, quantum et quando tuum munus apud me velis esse. Tantum te rogo, in Hirti locum me subdas et ad tuum amorem et ad meam observantiam.

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[a] This is either a postscript to the preceding letter, or (as Tyrrell takes it to be) the beginning of another letter. On the death of the consuls Cicero had written to Plancus urging him to send back to Rome his brother, Munatius Plancus, praetor urbanus, who was serving as legate in his army. To that letter this is a reply.

possibility of such generosity being wasted on a pack of desperadoes.

I shall do my best to keep my army advantageously situated, to protect my province, even if that other army has revolted, and to keep my hands free in every respect, until you send reinforcements here, and defend the Republic with as much good fortune here as elsewhere. No man was ever more ready, whether to fight it out, if the opportunity occurs, or to stand a blockade, if it be necessary, or to die, if it so happen, on your behalf. Therefore do I urge you, my dear Cicero, to take steps to send an army across to us as soon as possible, and to make haste to do so before the enemy becomes still stronger, and our own men more disorderly. If only that is done speedily, the traitors will be exterminated, and victory will ever remain in the hands of the Republic. Be sure you keep well and continue to love me. 6

Am I to write an apology to you for my brother,[a] a most gallant citizen and most prompt to answer any call? As a result of his hard work he has had a slight attack of fever, non-intermittent and troublesome enough. As soon as he can hurry back to Rome, he will not hesitate to do so, and be of service to the State, whatever his sphere of duty. I beg you to regard my position as being in your hands. It is needless for me to have any ambition, as I have in you one who is not only warmly attached to me, but also (and that has ever been my prayer) commands the highest influence. You will yourself consider what you would like to be the extent of your generosity to me, and the time for it. I ask you no more than this—to let me fill Hirtius's place, that you may show your love for me, and I my respect for you. 7

XXII

CICERO PLANCO

Romae, A.U.C. 711.

1 In te et in collega omnis spes est, dis approbantibus. Concordia vestra, quae senatui declarata litteris vestris est, mirifice et senatus et cuncta civitas
2 delectata est. Quod ad me scripseras de re agraria, si consultus senatus esset, ut quisque honorificentissimam de te sententiam dixisset, eam secutus essem; qui certe ego fuissem. Sed propter tarditatem sententiarum moramque rerum, cum ea, quae consulebantur, ad exitum non pervenirent, commodissimum mihi Plancoque fratri visum est, uti eo senatus consulto,[1] quod ne nostro arbitratu componeretur, quis fuerit impedimento, arbitror te
3 ex Planci litteris cognovisse. Sed sive in senatusconsulto, sive in ceteris rebus desideras aliquid, sic tibi persuade, tantam esse apud omnes bonos tui caritatem, ut nullum genus amplissimae dignitatis excogitari possit, quod tibi non paratum sit. Litteras tuas vehementer exspecto, et quidem tales, quales maxime opto. Vale.

[1] s.c. *was added to* eo *by Manutius.*

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[a] *i.e.*, D. Brutus.

[b] Both Plancus and D. Brutus were anxious to be on the Commission to consider the distribution of land to the soldiers.

XXII

CICERO TO PLANCUS

Rome, end of June, 43 B.C.

All our hopes rest on you and your colleague,[a] the 1
gods helping us. The cordial agreement between you clearly expressed to the Senate in your joint despatch gave extraordinary pleasure both to the Senate and the entire State.

You wrote to me about the land commission[b]; 2
well, had the Senate been consulted, I should have supported whoever proposed the most complimentary motion about you, and that man would certainly have been myself. But so tardy was the expression of opinions and so dilatory the transaction of business, seeing that the matters under discussion were not arriving at a settlement, your brother Plancus and I decided to accept the decree of the Senate which was passed; and I fancy Plancus has told you by letter, who it was that prevented its being drafted in exact agreement with our wishes.[c]

But if there is anything that disappoints you in 3
the decree of the Senate, or in anything else, rest assured of this, that such is the affection all patriots feel for you in their hearts, that it is impossible to imagine any kind of position, however exalted, which is not yours for the asking. I await your letter with much eagerness, and such a letter too as I above all things desire.

[c] It was probably Servilius, for whom see note on x. 12. 3.

XXIII

PLANCUS CICERONI

Cularone, A.U.C. 711.

1 Numquam mehercules, mi Cicero, me poenitebit maxima pericula pro patria subire, dum, si quid acciderit mihi, a reprehensione temeritatis absim. Confiterer imprudentia me lapsum, si umquam Lepido ex animo credidissem. Credulitas enim error est magis, quam culpa; et quidem in optimi cuiusque mentem facillime irrepit. Sed ego non hoc vitio paene sum deceptus; Lepidum enim pulchre noram. Quid ergo est? Pudor me, qui in bello maxime est periculosus, hunc casum coegit subire. Nam, si uno loco essem, verebar, ne cui obtrectatorum viderer et nimium pertinaciter Lepido offensus et mea patientia

2 etiam alere bellum. Itaque copias prope in conspectum Lepidi Antoniique adduxi, quadragintaque millium passuum spatio relicto consedi eo consilio, ut vel celeriter accedere, vel salutariter recipere me possem. Adiunxi haec in loco eligendo, flumen oppositum ut haberem, in quo mora transitus esset; Vocontii sub manu ut essent, per quorum loca fideliter mihi pateret iter. Lepidus, desperato adventu meo,

XXIII

PLANCUS TO CICERO

Cularo, June 6th, 43 B.C.

Never, I solemnly aver, my dear Cicero, shall I 1
regret undergoing the greatest danger on behalf of my country, provided that, if anything happens to me, I escape the reproach of rashness. Had I ever trusted Lepidus from the bottom of my heart, I should confess that lack of caution had led me astray. For credulity is more an error of judgment than a crime, and indeed the better the man, the more easily does it creep into his mind. It was not this weakness, however, that all but betrayed me; no, I knew Lepidus only too well. What was it then? It was my regard for my reputation, the most dangerous attribute in war, that forced me into this danger. For had I remained in one spot, I was afraid that someone among my critics would suspect me of being unduly obstinate in my quarrel with Lepidus, and even of fostering the war by taking no action.

I therefore brought up my troops almost within 2
sight of Lepidus and Antony, and, leaving a distance of forty miles between us, I encamped there with the idea of being able either to make a rapid advance or to retire with perfect safety. I acquired these further advantages in my choice of ground—I should have in front of me a river, to cross which would cause delay, and close at hand were the Vocontii, whose loyalty would keep the road open for me through their territory. Abandoning all hope of

quem non mediocriter captabat, se cum Antonio coniunxit a. d. iv. Kal. Iunias, eodemque die ad me castra moverunt; viginti millia passuum cum ab-
3 essent, res mihi nuntiata est. Dedi operam deum benignitate, ut et celeriter me reciperem, et hic discessus nihil fugae simile haberet, non miles ullus, non eques, non quidquam impedimentorum amitteretur aut ab illis ferventibus latronibus interciperetur. Itaque pridie Nonas Iunias omnes copias Isaram traieci, pontesque, quos feceram, interrupi, ut spatium ad colligendum se homines haberent, et ego me interea cum collega coniungerem; quem triduo, cum has dabam litteras, exspectabam.
4 Laterensis nostri et fidem et animum singularem in rempublicam semper fatebor. Sed certe nimia eius indulgentia in Lepidum ad haec pericula perspicienda fecit eum minus sagacem. Qui quidem cum in fraudem se deductum videret, manus, quas iustius in Lepidi perniciem armasset, sibi afferre conatus est. In quo casu tamen interpellatus et adhuc vivit et dicitur victurus. Sed tamen de hoc mihi parum
5 certum est. Magno cum dolore parricidarum elapsus sum iis. Veniebant enim eodem furore in me, quo in patriam, incitati. Iracundias autem harum rerum recentes habebant, quod Lepidum castigare non

[a] This is inconsistent with 21. 2, "ne venirem denuntiabat," etc. ("he distinctly told me *not* to come," etc.). Is it possible that Lepidus had now laid a trap for Plancus?

[b] See note on x. 11. 3.

[c] Laterensis died. He was an honourable man, staunchly loyal to the Republic, and his suicide is a pathetically moving incident in the campaign.

my arrival, which he was exceedingly anxious to bring about,[a] Lepidus effected a junction with Antony on May 29th, and on the same day they advanced to meet me; that fact was reported to me when they were twenty miles off.

I made every effort, by the blessing of heaven, to 3
make a rapid retreat, without allowing my departure to bear any resemblance to a flight, and to prevent a single foot-soldier or horseman or any piece of baggage being lost or cut off by those hot-headed brigands. And so on June 4th I threw all my forces across the Isara and broke up the bridge I had built, so as to give my men time to pull themselves together, and in the meantime myself to effect a junction with my colleague, whom I am expecting within three days of the date of this letter.

I shall always acknowledge the loyalty and 4
singular devotion to the Republic of our friend Laterensis,[b] but there is no doubt that his unduly generous estimate of Lepidus impaired his sagacity in appreciating these dangers. It is true that when he realized that he had been lured into a trap, he endeavoured to lay upon himself those hands which he would more properly have armed for the destruction of Lepidus. In that attempt, however, he was interrupted and is still alive, and is likely, it is said, to live. But on that point I cannot be positive.[c]

My slipping from between their hands was a bitter 5
blow to the murderers of their country; for they were coming stirred by the same mad hatred against myself as against their fatherland. Moreover, they had these fresh reasons for their angry feelings—I had never ceased from goading Lepidus into ex-

destiteram, ut exstingueret bellum; quod colloquia facta improbabam; quod legatos fide Lepidi missos ad me in conspectum venire vetueram; quod C. Catium Vestinum, tribunum militum, missum ab Antonio ad eum cum litteris exceperam numeroque hostis habueram.[1] In quo hanc capio voluptatem, quod certe, quo magis me petiverunt, tanto maiorem
6 his frustratio dolorem attulit. Tu, mi Cicero, quod adhuc fecisti, idem praesta, ut vigilanter nervoseque nos, qui stamus in acie, subornes. Veniat Caesar cum copiis quas habet firmissimas; aut, si ipsum aliqua res impedit, exercitus mittatur; cuius ipsius magnum periculum agitur. Quidquid aliquando futurum fuit in castris perditorum contra patriam, hoc omne iam convenit. Pro Urbis vero salute cur non omnibus facultatibus, quas habemus, utamur? Quod si vos istic non defueritis, profecto, quod ad me attinet, omnibus rebus abunde reipublicae satis-
7 faciam. Te quidem, mi Cicero, in dies, mehercules, habeo cariorem; sollicitudinesque meas quotidie magis tua merita exacuunt, ne quid aut ex amore aut ex iudicio tuo perdam. Opto, ut mihi liceat iam praesenti pietate meorum officiorum tua beneficia tibi facere iucundiora. Octavo Idus Iun. Cularone ex finibus Allobrogum.

[1] numeroque h. h. *K. Pal. and other codd.: the words are omitted in M.*

[a] *i.e.*, the conversations between the soldiers on either side.
[b] *i.e.*, of Antony. [c] *i.e.*, Octavian.
[d] From the plots of Antony.

tinguishing the war; I condemned the parleys[a] that had taken place; I had forbidden the legates[b] sent under the guarantee of Lepidus to come within my sight; and I had arrested C. Catius Vestinus, the military tribune sent him by Antony with a despatch, and had treated him as a public enemy. In all this I have the pleasure of being assured that the greater their eagerness to catch me, the keener is their vexation at being foiled.

It is for you, my dear Cicero, to stand by us as 6
staunchly as ever, and with all vigilance and energy to reinforce us who are bearing the brunt of the battle. Let Caesar[c] come and bring with him his most trustworthy troops, or, if anything prevents his coming himself, let his army be sent; he is himself involved in no little danger.[d] All the desperadoes who were ever likely to take up arms against their country are now gathered together in this one spot.

Why indeed should we not employ all the resources we command for the salvation of the city? But if you at Rome do not fail us, I assure you that, for my own part, I shall amply satisfy the claims of the Republic in every particular.

As for you, my dear Cicero, I asseverate that my 7
love for you increases day by day; and your kind services daily intensify my anxiety not to forfeit an atom of either your love or your esteem. I pray that I may soon be at your side, and so be permitted, by the dutiful discharge of my obligations to you, to enhance the pleasure you take in doing kindnesses to me. June 6th, Cularo, in the country of the Allobroges.

XXIV

PLANCUS IMP. CONS. DESIGN. S. D. CICERONI

In castris Gallicis, A.U.C. 711.

1 Facere non possum, quin in singulas res meritaque tua tibi gratias agam. Sed mehercule facio cum pudore. Neque enim tanta necessitudo, quantam tu mihi tecum esse voluisti, desiderare videtur gratiarum actionem, neque ego lubenter pro maximis tuis beneficiis tam vili munere defungor orationis; et malo praesens observantia, indulgentia, assiduitate memorem me tibi probare. Quod si mihi vita contigerit, omnes gratas amicitias atque etiam pias propinquitates in tua observantia, indulgentia, assiduitate vincam. Amor enim tuus ac iudicium de me utrum mihi plus dignitatis in perpetuum, an voluptatis quo-
2 tidie sit allaturus, non facile dixerim. De militum commodis fuit tibi curae; quos ego non potentiae meae causa (nihil enim me non salutariter cogitare scio) ornari volui a senatu; sed primum, quod ita meritos iudicabam; deinde, quod ad omnes casus coniunctiores reipublicae esse volebam; novissime, ut ab omni omnium sollicitatione aversos eos tales
3 vobis praestare possem, quales adhuc fuerunt. Nos

[a] "The cheap currency of words" is taken from S. H. Jeyes's translation.
[b] *Cf. Ep.* 8. 7 *ad fin.*

XXIV

PLANCUS, IMPERATOR AND CONSUL DESIGNATE, TO CICERO

Camp in Gaul, July 28th, 43 B.C.

It is impossible for me not to express my gratitude 1
to you in regard to every detail of your services. But I assure you that I do so with a sense of shame. For neither does the intimate connexion you have encouraged between us appear to require any expression of thanks, nor is it any pleasure to me to repay your wonderful kindness by employing the cheap currency of words[a]; and I had rather prove to you that I am not forgetful by my respectful consideration for you, and unfailing attention to you when we meet. But if life be spared me, by that same respectful consideration and unfailing attention I shall outdo all the gratitude of your friends, and even all the affection of your kinsfolk. As for your love and esteem for me, I find it hard to tell whether it is likely to bring me in greater measure permanent honour or daily delight.

You have been concerned about the benefactions 2
to the soldiers; it was not with a view to my own personal ascendancy (I am sure I harbour no sinister design) that I wished them to be honoured by the Senate, but because in the first place I considered they deserved it; in the next place, because I desired them to be more closely bound to the Republic to meet any possible emergency; and lastly, so that I might keep them proof against any temptation from any quarter and guarantee their being as loyal to you as they have been hitherto.[b]

adhuc hic omnia integra sustinuimus. Quod consilium nostrum, etsi, quanta sit aviditas hominum non sine causa capitalis[1] victoriae scio, tamen vobis probari spero. Non enim, si quid in his exercitibus sit offensum, magna subsidia respublica habet expedita, quibus subito impetu ac latrocinio parricidarum resistat. Copias vero nostras notas tibi esse arbitror. In castris meis legiones sunt veteranae tres, tironum vel luculentissima ex omnibus una; in castris Bruti una veterana legio, altera bima, octo tironum. Ita universus exercitus numero amplissimus est, firmitate exiguus. Quantum autem in acie tironi sit committendum, nimium saepe expertum habemus.

4 Ad hoc robur nostrorum exercituum sive Africanus exercitus, qui est veteranus, sive Caesaris accessisset, aequo animo summam rempublicam in discrimen deduceremus. Aliquanto autem propius esse, quod ad Caesarem attinet, videbamus; nihil destiti eum litteris hortari; neque ille intermisit affirmare, se sine mora venire; cum interim aversum illum ab hac cogitatione ad alia consilia video se contulisse. Ego tamen ad eum Furnium nostrum cum mandatis litterisque misi, si quid forte proficere posset.

5 Scis tu, mi Cicero, quod ad Caesaris amorem attinet, societatem mihi esse tecum, vel quod in familiaritate Caesaris, vivo illo,

[1] capitalis *suggested by Lehmann and approved by Mendelssohn*: talis *MSS.*: fatalis *Kock*: alterius *Nettleship*; *but* capitalis, '*decisive*,' *best suits the context.*

[a] *i.e.*, I and Brutus.

So far we have maintained the whole position here unchanged; and though I am well aware how great is the general and quite justifiable eagerness for a decisive victory, still I trust that my policy meets with your approval. For if anything should go wrong with the armies here, the State has no large reserves ready to take the field, wherewith to resist any sudden attack or raid on the part of these murderers of their country. What forces I have, I believe you know. There are three legions of veterans in my camp, and one, and that the most splendid of them all, of recruits; Brutus has under him one legion of veterans, another of two years' service men, and eight of recruits. So taking the army as a whole, it is numerically very strong, but below par in steadiness; and experience has taught us only too often how far recruits are to be relied upon on the field of battle. 3

Had the strength of our forces, such as it is, been reinforced either by the African army, which consists of veterans, or by that of Caesar, we[a] should put the fortunes of the Republic to the test of a battle with an easy mind; but we[a] saw that what Caesar could offer us was considerably the nearer at hand, and I have never ceased from urging him by letter to come, nor has he ever stopped assuring me that he was doing so without delay; though I see that he has meantime turned away from this purpose, and is taken up with other designs. Nevertheless I have sent our friend Furnius to him with messages and a despatch, to see if he could do any good. 4

Now you know, my dear Cicero, that, as far as affection for Caesar goes, I am with you, whether because, having regard to my intimacy with Julius, 5

iam tueri eum et diligere fuit mihi necesse ; vel quod ipse, quoad ego nosse potui, moderatissimi atque humanissimi fuit sensus ; vel quod ex tam insigni amicitia mea atque Caesaris hunc, fili loco et illius et vestro iudicio substitutum, non proinde habere, turpe
6 mihi videtur. Sed, quidquid tibi scribo, dolenter mehercule magis quam inimice facio. Quod vivit Antonius hodie, quod Lepidus una est, quod exercitus habent non contemnendos, quod sperant, quod audent, omne Caesari acceptum referre possunt. Neque ego superiora repetam ; sed ex eo tempore, quo ipse mihi professus est se venire, si venire voluisset, aut oppressum iam bellum esset, aut in aversissimam illis Hispaniam cum detrimento eorum maximo extrusum. Quae mens eum, aut quorum consilia a tanta gloria, sibi vero etiam necessaria ac salutari, avocarint, et ad cogitationem consulatus bimestris summo cum terrore hominum et insulsa cum efflagitatione tratulerint, exputare non possum.
7 Multum in hac re mihi videntur necessarii eius et reipublicae et ipsius causa proficere posse ; plurimum, ut puto, tu quoque, cuius ille tanta merita habet, quanta nemo praeter me : numquam enim obliviscar

while he was alive, I was bound even then to give the young Caesar my support and esteem ; or because young Caesar himself, so far as I had the opportunity of knowing him, was a man of most modest and kindly disposition ; or because, considering the marked friendship between Julius Caesar and myself, not to recognize as his son one who had been adopted as such by his own deliberate choice and that of all of you, strikes me as a breach of honour. But—and whatever I write to you I swear I 6
write more in sorrow than resentment—the fact that Antony is alive to-day, that Lepidus has joined him, that their armies are by no means contemptible, that they are sanguine and daring—all that they can put down to the credit of Caesar. Now I am not going back on past history ; but starting from the time when Caesar spontaneously declared that he was coming to join me, had he but decided to do so, the war would have been either immediately stamped out, or else, to the enemy's overwhelming disadvantage, pushed away into Spain, a country utterly unfavourable to their interests. What his idea was, or what people's advice he followed, in abandoning a policy so glorious, and, moreover, so imperative and conducive to his own safety, and aspiring instead to a two months' consulship, causing thereby wild and universal panic, and making clownishly importunate demands withal—that is a mystery I cannot fathom.

Much, it seems to me, can be done in this con- 7
nexion, both in the interests of the State and in his own, by his near relations ; but most of all I imagine, by yourself also, whose services to him outweigh those to anybody else, except myself ; for never

maxima ac plurima me tibi debere. De his rebus, ut exigeret cum eo, Furnio mandavi. Quod si, quantam debeo, habuero apud eum auctoritatem,
8 plurimum ipsum iuvero. Nos interea duriore condicione bellum sustinemus, quod neque expeditissimam dimicationem putamus, neque tamen refugiendo commissuri sumus, ut maius detrimentum respublica accipere possit. Quod si aut Caesar se respexerit aut Africanae legiones celeriter venerint, securos vos ab hac parte reddemus. Tu, ut instituisti, me diligas rogo, proprieque tuum esse, tibi persuadeas. v. Kal. Sext. ex castris.

XXV

CICERO S. D. FURNIO

Romae, A.U.C. 711.

1 Si interest, id quod homines arbitrantur, reipublicae te, ut instituisti atque fecisti, navare operam, rebusque maximis, quae ad exstinguendas reliquias belli pertinent, interesse, nihil videris melius neque laudabilius neque honestius facere posse, istamque

[a] See note to x. 2. 1.

shall I forget that my obligations to you are as great as they are numerous.

On these matters I have commissioned Furnius to complete negotiations with him; and should it turn out that I have as much influence with him as I ought to have, he will find that I have given him material assistance. Meanwhile we are carrying on 8
the war under increasingly difficult conditions; for we do not think that the ground is quite clear for a decisive engagement, and at the same time do not intend, by shirking one, to do anything to make it possible for the Republic to suffer a still more serious disaster. But if either Caesar reviews his own position, or the African legions arrive promptly, we shall relieve you of all anxiety in this part of the world.

I beg you to regard me with as much esteem as ever, and rest assured that I am, in a special sense, ever yours. In camp, July 28th.

XXV

CICERO TO FURNIUS[a]

Rome, about May 26th, 43 B.C.

If it is of importance—and everybody believes it is 1
—to the Republic that you should strenuously support her, as indeed you have consistently done from the beginning, and take your part in the very important operations which are concerned with extinguishing the last embers of the war, it seems to me that there is nothing better or more praiseworthy or more honourable that you could do; and I am of opinion

operam tuam, navitatem, animum in rempublicam celeritati praeturae anteponendam censeo. Nolo enim te ignorare, quantam laudem consecutus sis; mihi crede, proximam Planco, idque ipsius Planci testimonio, praeterea fama scientiaque omnium.
2 Quamobrem si quid operis tibi etiam nunc restat, id maximo opere censeo persequendum. Quid enim honestius, aut quid honesto anteponendum? Sin autem satisfactum reipublicae putas, celeriter ad comitia, quando mature futura sunt, veniendum censeo, dummodo ne quid haec ambitiosa festinatio imminuat eius gloriae, quam consecuti sumus. Multi clarissimi viri, cum reipublicae darent operam, annum petitionis suae non obierunt. Quod eo facilius nobis est, quod non est annus hic tibi destinatus, ut, si aedilis fuisses, post biennium tuus annus esset. Nunc nihil praetermittere videbere usitati et quasi legitimi temporis ad petendum. Video autem, Planco consule, etsi etiam sine eo rationes expeditas haberes, tamen splendidiorem petitionem tuam, si modo ista
3 ex sententia confecta essent. Omnino plura me scribere, cum tuum tantum consilium iudiciumque sit, non ita necesse arbitrabar; sed tamen sententiam

[a] Here, and just below ("it is easier for *us* not to do so") Cicero identifies Furnius's interests with his own.

[b] Two years had to elapse between aedileship and praetorship. Furnius appears to have stood in 44 for the aedileship of 43; had he been elected, he could not have stood for the praetorship till 42, or held it till 41.

[c] The year's canvassing was a matter of custom, not of law.

that you should think less of speedily attaining the praetorship than of devoting your energy, activity, and thoughts to the Republic. I would not have you be unaware of the high reputation you have already gained—a reputation, believe me, second only to that of Plancus, and that too on Plancus's own testimony, supported by everybody's report and acquaintance with the facts.

For that reason, if there is still any work left for 2
you to do, you should, in my opinion, throw all your energy into its final completion. What could be more to your honour? And what again is more precious than honour? If, however, you consider that you have satisfied the claims of the State, I think you should lose no time in coming to the *comitia*, since they are going to be held at an early date; provided only that your hurry to get office detracts in no way from the glory we[a] have won. Many most distinguished men, when on public service, have not taken up their year of candidature. And it is all the easier for us not to do so, inasmuch as this is not your appointed year, in the same way as, had you been aedile,[b] your year would have come two years later. As it is, it will not appear that you are disregarding any of the customary and (as we may almost call it) statutory period assigned to canvassing.[c] I clearly see, however, that, with Plancus for consul, although you might have all your plans arranged without reference to him, still your candidature would gain in distinction if only your operations should have been completed to our satisfaction. Speaking generally, 3
considering your own consummate sagacity and judgment, I do not deem it so very necessary to write at greater length; but at the same time I do

meam tibi ignotam esse nolebam, cuius est haec summa, ut omnia te metiri dignitate malim, quam ambitione, maioremque fructum ponere in perpetuitate laudis, quam in celeritate praeturae. Haec eadem locutus sum domi meae, adhibito Q. fratre meo et Caecina et Calvisio, studiosissimis tui, cum Dardanus, libertus tuus, interesset. Omnibus probari videbatur oratio mea. Sed tu optime iudicabis.

XXVI

M. CICERO S. D. C. FURNIO

Romae, A.U.C. 711.

1 Lectis tuis litteris, quibus declarabas, aut omittendos Narbonenses, aut cum periculo dimicandum, illud magis timui, quod vitatum non moleste fero. Quod de Planci et Bruti concordia scribis, in eo vel maximam spem pono victoriae. De Gallorum studio, nos aliquando cognoscemus, ut scribis, cuius id opera maxime excitatum sit. Sed iam, mihi crede, cognovimus. Itaque iucundissimis tuis litteris stomachatus sum in extremo. Scribis enim, si in Sextilem

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[a] It is uncertain whether this was Cicero's correspondent (vi. 5. 6) or his son, mentioned as a friend of Octavian's in *Att.* xvi. 8.

[b] Probably not the Calvisius whom Antony sent to supersede Cornificius in Africa, but another man altogether, mentioned later in x. 26. 3.

[c] *i.e.*, Gallia Narbonensis. The reference is obscure.

[d] Cicero hints that it was Furnius himself, and therefore

not wish you to be uninformed as to my own opinion, the main purport of which is this: I would have you appraise your general outlook by the standard of true desert, rather than by the prospect of high office, and seek a fuller fruition of your hopes in an abiding renown, than in the rapid attainment of a praetorship. These are the very words I spoke at my house, whither I had invited my brother Quintus, Caecina,[a] and Calvisius,[b] all of them deeply devoted to you, when Dardanus too, your freedman, was one of the party. My words seemed to meet with unanimous approval. But you will be the best judge.

XXVI

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, end of June, 43 B.C.

On reading the letter in which you made it plain 1
that you must either sacrifice the Narbonenses[c] or fight a hazardous battle, I was more afraid of the former course, and am not sorry it has been avoided. You write about the cordial relations between Plancus and Brutus; well, it is that fact that makes me most sanguine of victory. As to the enthusiasm of the Gauls, we shall some day discover, as you write, who it was that succeeded in exciting it; though, as a matter of fact, we have discovered it already.[d] So naturally, immensely pleased as I was with your letter, the end of it exasperated me; you write that, if the elections are put off till August, you

regrets his intention to return to Rome instead of carrying on his good work abroad.

comitia, cito te; sin iam confecta, citius, ne diutius
2 cum periculo fatuus sis. O mi Furni, quam tu causam tuam non nosti, qui alienas tam facile discas! Tu nunc candidatum te putas, et id cogitas, ut aut ad comitia curras aut, si iam confecta, domi tuae sis, ne cum maximo periculo, ut scribis, stultissimus sis? Non arbitror te ita sentire; omnes enim tuos ad laudem impetus novi. Quod si, ut scribis, ita sentis, non magis te, quam de te iudicium reprehendo meum. Te adipiscendi magistratus levissimi et divulgatissimi, si ita adipiscare, ut plerique, praepropera festinatio abducet a tantis laudibus, quibus te omnes in caelum iure et vere ferunt? Scilicet id agitur, utrum hac petitione, an proxima praetor fias, non ut ita de republica mereare, omni honore ut dignis-
3 simus iudicere. Utrum nescis, quam alte ascenderis, an pro nihilo id putas? Si nescis, tibi ignosco; nos in culpa sumus: sin intellegis, ulla tibi est praetura vel officio, quod pauci, vel gloria, quam omnes sequuntur, dulcior? Hac de re et ego et Calvisius, homo magni iudici tuique amantissimus, te accusamus

[a] Furnius had apparently practised in the law-courts.
[b] See note *b* on § 1.

will return speedily, but if they are already over, with all the more speed, so as not to go on playing the fool at the risk of your life.

Oh, my dear Furnius, how little you know of your 2
own case—you, who find it so easy to get up the cases of others![a] Do you really now regard yourself as a candidate, and do you really entertain the idea of hurrying posthaste to the elections, or else, if they are now over, of staying at home, so as not to be, as you put it, an utter idiot and run a tremendous risk at the same time? No, I don't believe you have any such thoughts, knowing as I do all your eager aspirations to glory. But if you do think as you write, well then I hold you less to blame than I do my own estimate of you. Are *you* of all men in such a violent hurry to secure a magistracy of very little account and disgustingly common if you obtain it in the way most candidates do, as to be tempted to abandon so glorious a career, for which you are so universally, justly too, and with sincerity, lauded up to the skies? Quite so; what interests you is whether you are to be made praetor at this election or the next, not, of course, that you should so deserve of the Republic as to be deemed most worthy of every conceivable honour.

Know you not to what a height you have ascended, 3
or does that make no appeal to you? If you do not know, then I forgive you; it is we who are to blame; but if you *do* realize it, then how can any praetorship in the world have a greater charm for you than the path either of duty, which attracts but few, or of glory, which attracts the world? On this point Calvisius,[b] a man of sound judgment, and deeply attached to you, and I myself find fault with you

quotidie. Comitia tamen, quando ex his pendes, quantum facere possumus, quod multis de causis reipublicae arbitramur conducere, in Ianuarium mensem protrudimus. Vince igitur et vale.

XXVII

CICERO LEPIDO S.

Romae, A.U.C. 711.

1 Quod mihi, pro summa erga te benevolentia, magnae curae est, ut quam amplissima dignitate sis, moleste tuli, te senatui gratias non egisse, cum esses ab eo ordine ornatus summis honoribus. Pacis inter cives conciliandae te cupidum esse, laetor. Eam si a servitute seiungis, consules et reipublicae et dignitati tuae; sin ista pax perditum hominem in possessionem impotentissimi dominatus restitutura est, hoc animo scito esse omnes sanos, ut mortem servituti ante-
2 ponant. Itaque sapientius, meo quidem iudicio, facies, si te in istam pacificationem non interpones, quae neque senatui neque populo nec cuiquam bono probatur. Sed haec audies ex aliis aut certior fies litteris. Tu pro tua prudentia, quid optimum factu sit, videbis.

daily. As to the elections, since your life depends upon them, we are striving to the best of our ability, as we think it for various reasons to the public advantage, to put them off till the month of January. Success then, and health to you!

XXVII

CICERO TO LEPIDUS

Rome, evening of March 28th, 43 B.C.

So sincere is my regard for you that I am deeply interested in your advancement to the very highest position; I am therefore distressed at your having expressed no gratitude to the Senate, when that body had honoured you with the highest marks of distinction. I rejoice that you have set your heart on arranging a peace between the parties in the State; provided you dissociate that peace from any form of servitude, you will be doing the best you can both for the Republic and for your own position; but if the peace you propose means the reinstatement of an unprincipled man in a long lease of absolutely uncontrollable tyranny, I would have you know that all men of sound views have made up their minds to accept death rather than servitude. 1

You will therefore act more wisely, in my judgment at any rate, in not mixing yourself up with any such plans for peace as you mention, which satisfy neither the Senate, nor the people, nor any honest citizen. But this you will be told by others, or be informed of it by letter. With your usual perspicacity you will see what is best to be done. 2

XXVIII

CICERO TREBONIO S.

Romae, A.U.C. 711.

1 Quam vellem ad illas pulcherrimas epulas me Idibus Martiis invitasses! reliquiarum nihil haberemus. At nunc cum his tantum negoti est, ut vestrum illud divinum in rempublicam beneficium nonnullam habeat querellam. Quod vero a te, viro optimo, seductus est, tuoque beneficio adhuc vivit haec pestis, interdum, quod mihi vix fas est, tibi subirascor. Mihi enim negoti plus reliquisti uni, quam praeter me omnibus. Ut enim primum post Antoni foedissimum discessum senatus haberi libere potuit, ad illum animum meum reverti pristinum, quem tu cum civi acerrimo, patre tuo, in ore et
2 amore semper habuisti. Nam cum senatum a. d. XIII. Kalendas Ianuarias tribuni plebi vocavissent, deque alia re referrent, totam rempublicam sum com-

[a] C. Trebonius began his public life as a supporter of the aristocratic party, and, as quaestor in 60 B.C., opposed the adoption of P. Clodius into a plebeian family. Soon afterwards he changed sides, and as tribune of the plebs in 55 he was the instrument of the triumvirs in proposing that Pompey should have the two Spains, Crassus Syria, and Caesar the Gauls and Illyricum, for a further period of five years. The proposal was carried in the *comitia*, and is known as the Lex Trebonia. In 48, as praetor urbanus, he resisted the wild schemes of his colleague, M. Caelius Rufus. Caesar made him consul in October, 45, and promised him the province of Asia. In spite of all this Trebonius took a leading part in the conspiracy to assassinate Caesar, and shortly after the murder proceeded to his province of Asia. He never received this letter, as he was murdered by Dolabella in Smyrna before the end of January. (Joseph. xiv. 223, 225.) W. W. How.

XXVIII

CICERO TO C. TREBONIUS [a]

Rome, about February 2nd, 43 B.C.

How I should like you to have invited me to that most gorgeous banquet on the Ides of March! We should have had no leavings.[b] But, as it is, they give us such trouble that the heavenly service you have all rendered the Republic is qualified by some grounds for complaint. Indeed the fact that this curse of the country was withdrawn into shelter by you, the most loyal of men, and thanks to your generosity is still alive, makes me sometimes, though it is hardly right of me, a little angry with you; since you left me with more trouble to deal with by my single self than all the rest of the world without me. For as soon as ever a Senate could be held under free conditions after the most discreditable departure of Antony,[c] I resumed that old spirit of mine, which you and that most doughty citizen, your father, have always lauded and loved.[d] 1

For when the tribunes of the plebs had summoned the Senate on December 20th, and were putting another question before the house, I reviewed the 2

[b] *i.e.*, no Antony still left alive.

[c] On November 28th Antony, hearing of the defection of the Fourth Legion, hurried from Rome to Ariminum. Cicero says that "he did not set out, but fled in full uniform" (*Phil.* v. 24). According to Appian, however (iii. 46), Antony's departure was glorious (λαμπρός).

[d] Tyrrell. "Had ever on your lips and in your love," Jeans. The assonance in the Latin is obviously intentional.

plexus, egique acerrime senatumque iam languentem et defessum ad pristinam virtutem consuetudinemque revocavi magis animi, quam ingeni viribus. Hic dies meaque contentio atque actio spem primum populo Romano attulit libertatis recuperandae. Nec vero ipse postea tempus ullum intermisi de republica
3 non cogitandi solum, sed etiam agendi. Quod, nisi res urbanas actaque omnia ad te perferri arbitrarer, ipse perscriberem, quamquam eram maximis occupationibus impeditus. Sed illa cognosces ex aliis; a me pauca, et ea summatim. Habemus fortem senatum, consulares partim timidos, partim male sentientes. Magnum damnum factum est in Servio. L. Caesar optime sentit; sed, quod avunculus est, non acerrimas dicit sententias. Consules egregii; praeclarus D. Brutus; puer egregius Caesar; de quo spero equidem reliqua. Hoc vero certum habeto, nisi ille veteranos celeriter conscripsisset, legionesque duae de exercitu Antoni ad eius se auctoritatem contulissent, atque is oppositus esset terror Antonio, nihil Antonium sceleris, nihil crudelitatis praeteriturum fuisse. Haec tibi, etsi audita esse arbitrabar, volui tamen notiora esse. Plura scribam, si plus oti habuero.

[a] Servius Sulpicius Rufus, already an invalid, had died when sent by the Senate with two others on an embassy to Antony, then encamped before Mutina, in January, 43. For a fuller account of him see note *a* on iv. 1. 1.

[b] L. Caesar was the brother of Julia, Antony's mother.

[c] For Decimus Brutus see note to xi. 1. 1.

whole constitutional situation, and speaking with intense fervour, more by force of energy than of eloquence, I restored to a drooping and weary Senate its ancient and traditional fortitude. That day's doings, and my vigorous pleading, first inspired the people of Rome with the hope of recovering their liberty. And indeed from that day I have never permitted myself a moment's respite, I will not say from merely thinking, but from acting also in the interests of the State.

Did I not assume that affairs in the city and every 3
transaction is being fully reported to you, I should myself write you a full account of them, hampered as I am by the most pressing engagements. But all that you will learn from others; I shall give you a few facts, and of them only a summary. We have a stout Senate, though the consulars are some of them timorous, others disaffected. Servius[a] was a serious loss. L. Caesar is thoroughly loyal at heart, but his being Antony's uncle[b] takes the edge off his proposals. The consuls are admirable; D. Brutus[c] is splendid; and Caesar is a fine young fellow, and I have great hopes of him in the future. This much, however, you must regard as certain, that had he not promptly enrolled the veterans, and had not two legions of Antony's army crossed over to his command, and had not Antony been faced by so terrible a danger, there is no form of crime or cruelty Antony would not have perpetrated. Although I expect you have heard all this, still I want you to have a clearer knowledge of it. I shall write more fully if I find I have more leisure.

XXIX

CICERO APPIO

Romae, A.U.C. 711.

De meo studio erga salutem et incolumitatem tuam, credo te cognosse ex litteris tuorum; quibus me cumulatissime satisfecisse certo scio; nec his concedo, quamquam sunt singulari in te benevolentia, ut te salvum malint, quam ego. Illi mihi necesse est concedant, ut tibi plus, quam ipsi, hoc tempore prodesse possim; quod quidem nec destiti facere, nec desistam; et iam in maxima re feci, et fundamenta ieci salutis tuae. Tu fac bono animo magnoque sis, meque tibi nulla re defuturum esse confidas. Pridie Nonas Quinctiles.

XXX

GALBA CICERONI SAL.

Ad Mutinam, A.U.C. 711.

1 XVIII. Kalend. Maii, quo die Pansa in castris Hirti erat futurus, cum quo ego eram (nam ei obviam processeram millia passuum centum, quo maturius veniret), Antonius legiones eduxit duas, Secundam et Quintam trigesimam, et cohortes praetorias duas,

[a] Gaius Appius Claudius had been governor of Asia in 55–54, and on his return was condemned on a charge of extortion and exiled, but seems to have been restored by Antony.

[b] Servius Sulpicius Galba, great-grandfather of the emperor Galba, served under Caesar in Gaul, and was praetor in 54. He was now serving against Antony at Mutina.

XXIX

CICERO TO APPIUS CLAUDIUS [a]

Rome, July 6th, 43 B.C.

Of my keen interest in your restoration and reinstatement you have, I believe, been informed in the letters of your friends, whom I am well assured that I have most abundantly satisfied; and, singularly devoted to you as they are, I do not yield to them so far as to admit that they desire your restoration more than I do myself. It is they who must needs yield precedence to me, considering that at the present moment I can serve you more effectually than they; and to serve you I have never ceased, nor ever shall cease; indeed, I have already done so in a matter of paramount importance, and have laid the foundations of your restoration. See to it that you keep up your spirits and courage, and be assured of my unfailing support in every respect. July 6th.

XXX

GALBA [b] TO CICERO

Camp at Mutina, April 15th, 43 B.C.

On April 14th, the day on which Hirtius was to 1
have been joined in camp by Pansa, with whom I was (for I had advanced 100 miles to meet him, in order to hasten his arrival), on that day Antony brought out two legions, the second and the thirty-fifth, and two praetorian cohorts, one his own, the

unam suam, alteram Silani, evocatorumque partem Ita obviam venit nobis, quod nos quattuor legiones tironum habere solum arbitrabatur. Sed noctu, quo tutius venire in castra possemus, legionem Martiam, cui ego praeesse solebam, et duas cohortes praetorias
2 miserat Hirtius nobis. Cum equites Antoni apparuissent, contineri neque legio Martia neque cohortes praetoriae potuerunt; quas sequi coepimus coacti, quando eas retinere non potueramus. Antonius ad Forum Gallorum suas copias continebat; neque sciri volebat se legiones habere; tantum equitatum et levem armaturam ostendebat. Posteaquam vidit, se invito, legionem ire, Pansa sequi se duas legiones iussit tironum. Postea vero quam angustias paludis et silvarum transivimus, acies est
3 instructa a nobis duodecim cohortium. Nondum venerant legiones duae; repente Antonius in aciem suas copias de vico produxit et sine mora concurrit. Primo ita pugnatum est, ut acrius non posset ex utraque parte pugnari; etsi dexterius cornu, in quo eram cum Martiae legionis cohortibus octo,

[a] M. Junius Silanus, son of D. Silanus and Servilia, Cato's sister, whose first husband was M. Junius Brutus, by whom she became the mother of M. Brutus, the conspirator.

[b] The Martian legion was on this occasion commanded by D. Carfulenus, who fell in the battle (33. 4). It is noticeable that Galba, probably from pique, makes no mention of him.

[c] Now Castel Franco, about 10 miles south-east of Mutina, on the Aemilian Road.

[d] *i.e.*, on either side of the Via Aemilia from Ariminum to Placentia, here a raised causeway running across the marshy plain.

[e] Antony was numerically superior in each of the three divisions of the battle now going on, (i.) on the right, in the swampy ground to the north of the Via Aemilia, Carfulenus and Galba had but eight cohorts of the Martian legion to oppose Antony's full legion, the 35th, (ii.) on the left three cohorts, *i.e.* the remaining two of the Martian legion and Hirtius's praetorian cohort, had to face Antony's second legion, and (iii.) on the raised causeway, which prevented the two wings from seeing each other, Octavian's praetorian cohort was no match for the praetorian cohorts of Antony and Silanus.

other Silanus's,[a] with a detachment of reserve men. The reason of Antony's advance to meet us was that he supposed we had no more than four legions of recruits. During the night, however, to ensure our greater safety in reaching his camp, Hirtius had sent us the Martian legion, which I usually commanded,[b] with two praetorian cohorts.

When Antony's cavalry came in sight, neither the 2
Martian legion nor the praetorian cohorts could be held in check, and we began to follow their lead, being forced to do so, since we had failed to keep them back. Antony contained his forces at Forum Gallorum,[c] and not wishing it to be known that he had legions with him, he only allowed his cavalry and light-armed troops to be visible. When Pansa saw the legion advancing against his orders he told two legions of recruits to follow him. As soon as we had crossed the narrow tongue of marsh and woodland,[d] we drew up a line of twelve cohorts; the two legions of recruits had not yet come up.[e] Suddenly 3
Antony brought his forces out of the village into line, and immediately charged. At first the battle could not have been more keenly fought than it was on either side; although our right wing, where I was stationed with eight cohorts of the Martian legion,

impetu primo fugaverat legionem xxxv. Antoni, ut amplius passus quingentos ultra aciem, quo loco steterat, processerit. Itaque cum equites nostrum cornu circuire vellent, recipere me coepi et levem armaturam opponere Maurorum equitibus, ne aversos nostros aggrederentur. Interim video me esse inter Antonianos Antoniumque post me esse aliquanto. Repente equum immisi ad eam legionem tironum, quae veniebat ex castris, scuto reiecto. Antoniani me insequi; nostri pila conicere velle. Ita nescio quo fato sum servatus, quod sum cito a nostris
4 cognitus. In ipsa Aemilia, ubi cohors Caesaris praetoria erat, diu pugnatum est. Cornu sinisterius, quod erat infirmius, ubi Martiae legionis duae cohortes erant, et cohors praetoria, pedem referre coeperunt, quod ab equitatu circuibantur, quo vel plurimum valet Antonius. Cum omnes se recepissent nostri ordines, recipere me novissimus coepi ad castra. Antonius, tamquam victor, castra putavit se posse capere. Quo cum venit, complures ibi amisit nec egit quidquam. Audita re, Hirtius cum cohortibus viginti veteranis redeunti Antonio in sua castra occurrit, copiasque eius omnes delevit, fugavit eodem loco, ubi erat pugnatum, ad Forum Gallorum. Antonius cum equitibus hora noctis
5 quarta se in castra sua ad Mutinam recepit. Hirtius in ea castra rediit, unde Pansa exierat, ubi duas

had at the first onset put to flight Antony's Thirty-fifth legion, so that our wing advanced more than half a mile ahead of our line from its original position. Consequently, when the enemy's cavalry were disposed to outflank our wing, I began to retreat and to put out my light-armed troops to oppose the Moorish cavalry, to prevent their attacking our men from the rear. Meantime I became aware that I was surrounded by Antony's troops and that Antony himself was some distance behind me. In a moment I galloped up to the legion of recruits which was coming from the camp, slinging my shield behind me. The enemy were close upon me, and our men were eager to hurl their javelins. I was only saved by a stroke of good luck, for my own men quickly recognized me.

There was a prolonged engagement on the Aemilian 4
Road itself where Caesar's praetorian cohort was posted. Our left wing, on which were two cohorts of the Martian legion and a praetorian cohort, being weaker, began to retreat, as it was being outflanked by the cavalry, in which Antony is extremely strong. After all our ranks had made good their retreat, last of all I myself began to retire towards the camp. Antony, assuming that he was victorious, imagined that he could capture the camp, but on arriving there he lost a good many men without achieving anything. On hearing this, Hirtius with twenty veteran cohorts threw himself in Antony's way as he was returning to his own camp, and annihilated all his forces, having routed them on the very same ground on which the battle had been fought—at Forum Gallorum. At the fourth hour of the night Antony and his cavalry found refuge in their own camp near Mutina.

Hirtius retired to that camp from which Pansa 5

legiones reliquerat, quae ab Antonio erant oppugnatae. Sic partem maiorem suarum copiarum Antonius amisit veteranarum. Nec id tamen sine aliqua iactura cohortium praetorianarum nostrarum et legionis Martiae fieri potuit. Aquilae duae, signa sexaginta sunt relata Antoni. Res bene gesta est. A. d. XVII. Kal. Mai. ex castris.

XXXI

C. ASINIUS POLLIO S. D. CICERONI

Cordubae, A.U.C. 711.

1 Minime mirum tibi debet videri nihil me scripsisse de republica, posteaquam itum est ad arma. Nam saltus Castulonensis, qui semper tenuit nostros tabellarios, etsi nunc frequentioribus latrociniis infestior factus est, tamen nequaquam tanta in mora est, quanta qui locis omnibus dispositi ab utraque parte scrutantur tabellarios et retinent. Itaque nisi

had come out, after leaving there the two legions which had been beleaguered by Antony. Thus it was that Antony lost the greater part of his veteran forces. This, however, could not be effected without considerable sacrifice on the part of our praetorian cohorts and the Martian legion. Two eagles and sixty standards have been brought back — all Antony's. It has been a splendid achievement. The Camp, April 15th.

XXXI

ASINIUS POLLIO[a] TO CICERO

Corduba, March 16th, 43 B.C.

You ought not to think it in the slightest degree surprising that I have not written at all about public affairs since the outbreak of hostilities. For though it is true that the pass of Castulo,[b] which has always held up our letter-carriers, has now become more dangerous than ever owing to the increase in brigandage, it is nothing like so great a cause of delay as are the scouts, who, posted everywhere on both sides, search our letter-carriers and detain them. 1

[a] C. Asinius Pollio, the noted orator, poet, critic, and historian, was born in 76 B.C. At the age of 22 he made his mark as a pleader by attacking C. Cato, a creature of the triumvirs. Four years later he had joined Caesar, and was with him when he crossed the Rubicon in 49. He then went to Africa with Curio, after whose defeat and death he crossed over to Greece, and fought on Caesar's side at Pharsalia (48). Having accompanied Caesar in his African and Spanish campaigns (46–5), he returned with him to Rome, but was sent back as governor of Further Spain to resist Sextus Pompeius, and was there when Caesar was assassinated in 44. In this letter he professes neutrality and a desire for peace with liberty, but when Lepidus and Octavian joined Antony in 43, Pollio threw in his lot with them. Antony gave him the administration of Transpadane Gaul, which involved the settlement of the veterans in the lands assigned to them. It was then that Pollio saved from confiscation the property of Virgil, whom he took under his protection. In 40 he was consul, and in 39 was sent by Antony to fight the Parthini, an Illyrian people, whom he defeated, and was rewarded with a triumph. The rest of his life he devoted to literature, and died at his Tusculan villa in A.D. 4, at the age of 80.

[b] A pass in the N.E. extremity of Baetica, near the towns Illiturgi and Castulo; it is now called the Sierra de Cazlona.

nave perlatae litterae essent, omnino nescirem, quid istic fieret. Nunc vero nactus occasionem, posteaquam navigari coeptum est, cupidissime et quam
2 creberrime potero, scribam ad te. Ne movear eius sermonibus, quem, tametsi nemo est, qui videre velit, tamen nequaquam proinde, ac dignus est, oderunt homines, periculum non est. Adeo est enim invisus mihi, ut nihil non acerbum putem, quod commune cum illo sit. Natura autem mea et studia trahunt me ad pacis et libertatis cupiditatem. Itaque illud initium civilis belli saepe deflevi. Cum vero non liceret mihi nullius partis esse, quia utrobique magnos inimicos habebam, ea castra fugi, in quibus plane tutum me ab insidiis inimici sciebam non futurum; compulsus eo, quo minime volebam, ne in extremis
3 essem, plane pericula non dubitanter adii. Caesarem vero, quod me in tanta fortuna modo cognitum vetustissimorum familiarium loco habuit, dilexi summa cum pietate et fide. Quae mea sententia gerere mihi licuit, ita feci, ut optimus quisque maxime probarit. Quod iussus sum, eo tempore atque ita feci, ut appareret invito imperatum esse. Cuius facti iniustissima invidia erudire me potuit, quam iucunda libertas, et quam misera sub dominatione vita esset.

[a] This is generally taken to be Antony, but it is incredible that Pollio should have referred in such terms to so important a character as Antony, however much he may have personally disliked him. It is far more probable that Pollio means his own mad quaestor Balbus, for whom see letter 32.

[b] *i.e.*, Pompey's.

[c] Zumpt takes this to be Gaius Porcius Cato, who had been accused by Pollio in 54, but acquitted. Watson thinks it may have been Labienus.

[d] C. Julius Caesar. According to Plutarch (*Caes.* 32) Caesar consulted Pollio as to whether he should cross the Rubicon or not.

So had not a letter reached me by sea, I should be in absolute ignorance of what was going on at Rome. But now that I have the opportunity, the sailing season having begun, I shall write to you with the greatest gusto, and as frequently as I can.

There is no danger of my being affected by the 2
talk of a man,[a] who (although nobody likes the sight of him) is not as much hated by men in general as he deserves to be. So thoroughly do I detest him that I regard with disgust whatever I have to do in conjunction with him. Now my own instincts and pursuits incline me to desire peace and liberty; and so I have often bitterly bewailed that first step in civil war. Seeing, however, that, because I had powerful enemies on both sides, it was impossible for me to be wholly neutral, I fled from the camp[b] in which I knew beyond doubt that I should not be safe from the machinations of an enemy.[c] Forced to a decision not at all to my liking, lest I should fall into the background, I boldly and unhesitatingly faced the dangers it involved.

But as regards Caesar,[d] because he treated me as 3
one of his oldest friends, though he never made my acquaintance until he had reached the height of his fortune, my esteem for him was based on the deepest devotion and loyalty. What it was possible for me to achieve on my own initiative, I performed in such a way as to win the heartiest approval of every true patriot; what I did under orders, I did at such a moment and in such a manner as to make it evident that instructions had been issued to an unwilling agent. The quite undeserved odium I have incurred by this conduct is enough to teach me the joys of freedom and the wretchedness of life

Ita si id agitur, ut rursus in potestate omnia unius
sint, quicumque is est, ei me profiteor inimicum.
Nec periculum est ullum, quod pro libertate aut refu-
4 giam aut deprecer. Sed consules neque senatus
consulto neque litteris suis praeceperant mihi, quid
facerem. Unas enim post Idus Martias demum a
Pansa litteras accepi, in quibus hortatur me, ut
senatui scribam, me et exercitum in potestate eius
futurum. Quod, cum Lepidus contionaretur atque
omnibus scriberet se consentire cum Antonio, maxime
contrarium fuit. Nam quibus commeatibus invito
illo per illius provinciam legiones ducerem? aut, si
cetera transissem, num etiam Alpes poteram trans-
volare, quae praesidio illius tenentur? Adde huc,
quod perferri litterae nulla condicione potuerunt;
sexcentis enim locis excutiuntur, deinde etiam re-
5 tinentur ab Lepido tabellarii. Illud me Cordubae
pro contione dixisse, nemo vocabit in dubium, pro-
vinciam me nulli, nisi qui ab senatu missus venisset,
traditurum. Nam de legione Trigesima tradenda
quantas habuerim contentiones, quid ego scribam?
qua tradita quanto pro republica infirmior futurus
fuerim, quis ignorat? Hac enim legione noli acrius
aut pugnacius quidquam putare esse. Quare eum
me existima esse, qui primum pacis cupidissimus sim

under a despotism. If therefore events are so develop-
ing as to put all power again in the hands of one
man, whosoever that man is, I declare myself his foe;
and in defence of liberty there is no danger from which
I should either hold back or seek to excuse myself.

But the consuls have given me no guidance as to 4
my line of action, either by a decree of the Senate or
by a despatch from themselves; indeed the single
letter I have had, and that only after the Ides of
March, was from Pansa, in which he urges me to write
to the Senate, offering to put myself and my army
at their disposal. Now this, at a time when Lepidus
was publicly declaring and writing to everybody
that he was in agreement with Antony, put me in a
very awkward position; by what system of supplies
was I to bring my legions through his province
without his consent? Or even if I had surmounted all
other difficulties, could I wing my way over the Alps
too, which are occupied by his guards? In addition
to this, it was impossible for letters to reach their
destination; there are scores of places where they
are turned inside out; and then the carriers also
are detained by Lepidus.

One fact nobody will question—that I publicly 5
declared at Corduba that I would surrender the
province to nobody who had not come with the
authority of the Senate. Why should I tell you of
the angry disputes I have had about handing over
the Thirtieth legion? Had I done so, everybody
knows how much weaker I should have been to
support the State. For are there braver men or
better fighters in the world than the Thirtieth?
Don't you believe it. You must therefore regard me
as one who is, first and foremost, extremely eager

(omnes enim cives studeo plane esse salvos), deinde, qui et me et rempublicam vindicare in libertatem
6 paratus sim. Quod familiarem meum tuorum numero habes, opinione tua mihi gratius est. Invideo illi tamen, quod ambulat et iocatur tecum. Quaeres, quanti aestimem? Si umquam licuerit vivere in otio, experieris; nullum enim vestigium abs te discessurus sum. Illud vehementer admiror, non scripsisse te mihi, manendo in provincia an ducendo exercitum in Italiam reipublicae magis satisfacere possim. Ego quidem, etsi mihi tutius ac minus laboriosum est manere, tamen, quia video, tali tempore multo magis legionibus opus esse, quam provinciis, quae praesertim recuperari nullo negotio possunt, constitui, ut nunc est, cum exercitu proficisci. Deinde ex litteris, quas Pansae misi, cognosces omnia; nam tibi earum exemplar misi. xvii. Kal. April. Corduba. Vale.

XXXII

C. ASINIUS POLLIO CICERONI

Cordubae, A.U.C. 711.

1 Balbus quaestor, magna numerata pecunia, magno pondere auri, maiore argenti coacto de publicis exactionibus, ne stipendio quidem militibus reddito

[a] The poet Cornelius Gallus, the friend of Virgil and Ovid.

for peace (for frankly my desire is the security of every member of the State), and secondly, as one prepared to assert alike for himself and for the State their claim to liberty.

That you should have put a dear friend of mine[a] 6
on the list of your own, is more gratifying to me than you can imagine; and yet I am jealous of his walking and joking with you. You will ask how much I value that? If ever I am permitted to live a life of peace, you will find out; for I am not going to stir a single step from your side. One thing surprises me vastly—your never having written to tell me whether I can better do my duty by the Republic by remaining in the province, or by bringing my army into Italy. For my part, safer and less troublesome for myself though it be to remain, yet, because I see that at such a crisis there is much greater need of legions than of provinces (especially as the latter can be recovered without difficulty) I have made up my mind, as matters now stand, to start and bring the army with me. As to my next step you will get every information in the despatch I have sent to Pansa, of which I have sent you a copy. Corduba, March 16th.

XXXII

THE SAME TO CICERO

Corduba, June 8th, 43 B.C.

With a large sum of ready money, a large quantity 1
of gold, and a larger of silver, amassed from the public revenues, and without even paying his

duxit se a Gadibus, et triduum tempestate retentus
ad Calpen, Kal. Iuniis traiecit sese in regnum Bo-
gudis, plane bene peculiatus. His rumoribus utrum
Gades referatur, an Romam (ad singulos enim nun-
2 tios turpissime consilia mutat), nondum scio. Sed
praeter furta et rapinas et virgis caesos socios haec
quoque fecit (ut ipse gloriari solet, eadem, quae C.
Caesar): ludis, quos Gadibus fecit, Herennium Gal-
lum histrionem, summo ludorum die annulo aureo
donatum, in xiv. sessum deduxit; tot enim fecerat
ordines equestris loci. Quattuorviratum sibi pro-
rogavit; comitia bienni biduo habuit, hoc est,
renuntiavit, quos ei visum est; exsules reduxit, non
horum temporum, sed illorum, quibus a seditiosis
senatus trucidatus aut expulsus est, Sex. Varo
3 proconsule. Illa vero iam ne Caesaris quidem

[a] This Balbus was a nephew of the Balbus defended by Cicero (vii. 5. 2) and a very different man from his uncle. He was an intermediary between Caesar and the consul L. Lentulus Crus in 49. Just before the battle of Pharsalia he ventured to cross over from Caesar's camp to that of Pompey in order to bribe the proconsul Lentulus, who was a strong Pompeian, to desert Pompey and join Caesar. He was consul suffectus in 32 and triumphed over Africa in 19.

[b] Gibraltar.

[c] Bogudes (or Bogus) was king of Mauretania, and a partisan of Caesar's.

[d] Balbus impudently claimed to imitate Julius Caesar, especially in extending his tenure of office, as Caesar may be said to have prolonged his own second dictatorship, and in appointing magistrates for the two following years, as Caesar had appointed magistrates for three years in advance just before his assassination.

soldiers, my quaestor Balbus [a] took himself off from Gades, and, after being weather-bound for three days by a gale off Calpe,[b] on June 1st crossed over into the kingdom of Bogudes,[c] with quite a nice little nest-egg in his pocket. Having only the rumours of the hour to go upon, whether he is returning to Gades or going on to Rome I do not yet know; for he chops and changes in the wickedest way every time one has tidings of him.

But besides his thefts and robberies and his 2
flogging of allies with rods, he has this too to his credit ("for all the world like C. Caesar,"[d] as he himself often boasts): at the games he provided at Gades, on the last day of them, he presented the actor Herennius Gallus with a gold ring, and conducted him to a seat in the fourteen [e] rows—for that was the number of rows he had assigned to the equestrian rank; he extended his own tenure of office as one of the *quattuorviri*[f]; he held elections for two years on two successive days, in other words, he returned as elected whatever men he pleased; he restored exiles, not those of recent days, but of the days when the Senate was butchered or expelled by rebels in the proconsulship of Sextus Varus.[g]

In what follows, however, he did not even confine 3
himself to the imitation of Caesar; for in the course

[e] By a law introduced by Roscius Otho in 67 fourteen rows at the public spectacles were assigned to the *equites*, and Balbus introduced a like law at Gades. The right to wear a "gold ring" was a special privilege of the *equites*.

[f] Gades, being a *municipium*, was governed by a board of four magistrates in lieu of a senate.

[g] Probably Sextus Quintilius Varus, praetor in 57, who was proconsul of Further Spain in 56.

exemplo, quod ludis praetextam, de suo itinere ad L. Lentulum proconsulem sollicitandum, posuit. Et quidem cum ageretur, flevit, memoria rerum gestarum commotus. Gladiatoribus autem, Fadium quemdam, militem Pompeianum, quia, cum depressus in ludum bis gratis depugnasset, auctorari sese nolebat et ad populum confugerat, primum Gallos equites immisit in populum (coniecti[1] enim lapides sunt in eum, quum abriperetur Fadius), deinde abstractum defodit in ludo et vivum combussit; cum quidem pransus, nudis pedibus, tunica soluta, manibus ad tergum reiectis, inambularet, et illi misero quiritanti "C. R. NATUS SUM" responderet: "Abi nunc, populi fidem implora." Bestiis vero cives Romanos, etiam in his circulatorem quemdam auctionum, notissimum hominem Hispali, quia deformis erat, obiecit. Cum huiuscemodi portento
4 res mihi fuit. Sed de illo plura coram. Nunc, quod praestat, quid me velitis facere, constituite. Tres legiones firmas habeo; quarum unam, Duodetrigesimam, cum ad se initio belli arcessisset Antonius hac pollicitatione, quo die in castra venisset, denarios quingenos singulis militibus daturum, in victoria

[1] *MSS.*: conlecti *M.*

[a] The *fabula praetexta*, or *praetextata*, was a drama on a subject taken from Roman history.
[b] See note *a* on § 1.
[c] *i.e.*, without his *calcei* (shoes), just as he had reclined at table.
[d] Every Roman citizen had the right of appeal to the people against a death sentence.
[e] About £17.

of the games he staged a "Roman drama,"[a] all about his own expedition to tamper with the loyalty of the proconsul L. Lentulus,[b] and (would you believe it?) he was so much affected by the representation of his own adventures that he burst into tears. Again, at the gladiatorial shows there was a certain Fadius, a soldier of Pompey; he had been pressed into the gladiatorial school, and having twice defeated his adversary without being paid for it, he objected to binding himself over to be a gladiator, and had sought refuge among the people; so Balbus first let loose some Gallic horsemen among the crowd (for stones were thrown at him when Fadius was being dragged away) and then carried off Fadius, buried him up to the waist in the gladiators' school, and burnt him alive, while he himself, having lunched, strolled about bare-footed[c] with his tunic ungirdled and his hands behind his back, and when the poor wretch shrieked out "I am a born Roman citizen," he answered, "Off with you at once; implore the protection of the people."[d] It is a fact that he has thrown Roman citizens to the wild beasts, among them a certain itinerant pedlar who frequented sales, a very well-known character at Hispalis on account of his deformity.

This is the kind of monster I have had to deal with. But more about him when we meet.

But now, and this is the main point, you must 4
decide what you wish me to do. I have three legions firm in their allegiance. One of them, the Twenty-eighth, had been urged by Antony to join him at the beginning of the war, and this is what he promised them; on the day they came to his camp he would give every single soldier 500 *denarii*,[e]

vero eadem praemia, quae suis legionibus (quorum quis ullam finem aut modum futurum putavit ?) incitatissimam retinui, aegre mehercules ; nec retinuissem, si uno loco habuissem, utpote cum singulae quaedam cohortes seditionem fecerint. Reliquas quoque legiones non destitit litteris atque infinitis pollicitationibus incitare. Nec vero minus Lepidus ursit me et suis et Antoni litteris, ut legionem
5 Trigesimam mitterem sibi. Itaque quem exercitum neque vendere ullis praemiis volui, nec eorum periculorum metu, quae, victoribus illis, portendebantur, diminuere, debetis existimare retentum et conservatum reipublicae esse ; atque ita credere, quodcumque imperassetis, facturum fuisse, si, quod iussistis, feci. Nam et provinciam in otio, et exercitum in mea potestate tenui ; finibus meae provinciae nusquam excessi ; militem non modo legionarium, sed ne auxiliarium quidem ullum quoquam misi ; et, si quos equites decedentes nactus sum, supplicio affeci. Quarum rerum fructum satis magnum republica salva tulisse me putabo. Sed respublica si me satis novisset et maior pars senatus, maiores ex me fructus tulisset. Epistulam, quam Balbo, cum etiam nunc in provincia esset, scripsi, legendam tibi

[a] Antony and Lepidus.

and in case of victory the same bounties as he would give his own legions—and who anticipated any end or limit to such bounties ? Well, that legion, strongly tempted as it was, I managed to retain, though, on my solemn oath, with difficulty ; and I should not have done so at all, if I had had them all together in one place, seeing that certain cohorts became mutinous, each on its own account. The other legions, too, he never ceased to tempt by means of letters and unlimited promises. And indeed Lepidus pressed me no less, by writing himself and getting Antony to do so, to send him the Thirtieth legion.

The army, therefore, which I neither desired to sell 5
at any price nor allowed to be impaired by the apprehension of all the dangers portended, should those two men[a] be victorious, that army I say, you ought to regard as retained and kept safe for the Republic, and since I have already carried out your orders, to believe that I should have done whatever else you commanded me to do. I have kept the province peaceful and the army amenable to my authority ; at no point have I passed beyond the bounds of my province ; I have not sent a single soldier, not of the legions only, but even of the auxiliaries, in any direction ; and if ever I caught any of the cavalry trying to desert, I punished them.

For all this I shall consider that I have gained a sufficient return in the salvation of the Republic. At the same time had that Republic, and indeed the bulk of the Senate, been properly acquainted with me, the advantage it would have gained through me would have been greater.

I am sending you for your perusal a letter I have written to Balbus, who is just now in the province ;

misi; etiam praetextam si voles legere, Gallum Cornelium, familiarem meum, poscito. VI. Idus Iunias, Corduba.

XXXIII

POLLIO CICERONI S. P.

Cordubae, A.U.C. 711.

1 S.v.b.e.e.q.v. Quo tardius certior fierem de proeliis apud Mutinam factis, Lepidus effecit, qui meos tabellarios novem dies retinuit; tametsi tantam calamitatem reipublicae quam tardissime audire optandum est; sed illis, qui prodesse nihil possunt neque mederi. Atque utinam eodem senatusconsulto, quo Plancum et Lepidum in Italiam arcessistis, me quoque iussissetis venire! profecto non accepisset respublica hoc vulnus. Quo si qui laetantur in praesentia, quia videntur et duces et veterani Caesaris partium interiisse, tamen postmodo necesse est doleant, cum vastitatem Italiae respexerint. Nam et robur et suboles militum interiit, si quidem, quae
2 nuntiantur, ulla ex parte vera sunt. Neque ego non videbam, quanto usui reipublicae essem futurus, si ad Lepidum venissem; omnem enim cunctationem eius discussissem, praesertim adiutore Planco. Sed

[a] Pollio's dramas had a great contemporary vogue, but not one of them has survived.
[b] See note *a* on p. 404.

there is also a "Roman drama,"[a] if you care to read it, for which you must ask my friend Gallus Cornelius.[b] Corduba, June 8th.

XXXIII

THE SAME TO CICERO

Corduba, end of May, 43 B.C.

If you are well, all is right. I too am well. 1
Lepidus, who detained my letter-carrier for nine days, was the cause of the long delay in my being informed of the battles fought near Mutina, though, of course, the longest possible delay in hearing of such a disaster to the State is a thing to be prayed for—but only by those who can neither improve nor retrieve the position. And how I wish that by the same decree of the Senate as that by which you summoned Plancus and Lepidus to Italy you had ordered me to come too! Assuredly the Republic would then have been spared this blow. And if there be any who rejoice at the present state of affairs, because both the commanders and the veterans on Caesar's side have apparently perished, yet they cannot but mourn presently when they turn their gaze on the devastation of Italy. For if the reports that come in are in any degree true, not only the mature strength but the undergrowth of our armies has perished.

Nor did I fail to see how great service I was likely 2
to render the State if I had joined Lepidus; for I should have dispelled every vestige of hesitation on his part, especially with Plancus to help me. But as

scribenti ad me eiusmodi litteras, quas leges, contionibus, videlicet, quas Narbone habuisse dicitur, similes, palparer plane necesse erat, si vellem commeatus, per provinciam eius iter faciens, habere. Praeterea verebar, ne, si ante, quam ego incepta perficerem, proelium confectum esset, pium consilium meum raperent in contrariam partem obtrectatores mei, propter amicitiam, quae mihi cum Antonio, non
3 maior tamen, quam Planco, fuit. Itaque a Gadibus mense Aprili binis tabellariis in duas naves impositis, et tibi et consulibus et Octaviano scripsi, ut me faceretis certiorem, quonam modo plurimum possem prodesse reipublicae. Sed, ut rationem ineo, quo die proelium Pansa commisit, eodem a Gadibus naves profectae sunt. Nulla enim post hiemem fuit ante eam diem navigatio. Et hercules longe remotus ab omni suspicione futuri civilis tumultus, penitus in Lusitania legiones in hibernis collocaram. Ita porro festinavit uterque confligere, tamquam nihil peius timerent, quam ne sine maximo reipublicae detrimento bellum componeretur. Sed, si properandum fuit, nihil non summi ducis consilio gessisse Hirtium
4 video. Nunc haec mihi scribuntur ex Gallia Lepidi et nuntiantur; Pansae exercitum concisum esse; Pansam ex vulneribus mortuum; eodem proelio Martiam legionem interiisse, et L. Fabatum et C.

[a] *i.e.*, his intention, indicated in § 6 of 31, to bring his army from Spain into Italy in support of the Republic.

[b] *i.e.*, Narbonensis, as distinguished from the Gaul of Plancus (Comata), and the Gaul of D. Brutus (Cisalpina).

he wrote me such letters as I send for your perusal, manifestly in much the same tone as the public speeches he is said to have made at Narbo, it was obviously essential that I should smooth him down, if I wanted to get my supplies when marching through his province. Moreover, I was afraid that, if the battle was over before I finished what I had begun, my detractors would force upon my patriotic project[a] an interpretation the very reverse of my intention, all because of my friendship with Antony, which after all was no greater than that with Plancus.

In the month of April then I embarked two letter- 3
carriers on two separate ships, and wrote from Gades to yourself and the consuls and Octavian, asking you to inform me by what manner of means I could best serve the Republic. But, according to my reckoning, the ships started from Gades on the very day Pansa fought his battle. For, since the winter, no sailing was possible before that date. And I solemnly aver that I had put my legions into winter quarters in the heart of Lusitania before I had the remotest suspicion that there would be a civil insurrection. And besides both commanders were in as great a hurry to come to blows as if what they feared more than anything was the settlement of the war without the maximum of damage to the Republic. But if there was any need for haste, in my view every single success achieved by Hirtius was marked by the strategy of a consummate commander.

Just now the written and oral reports I receive 4
from Lepidus's Gaul[b] are as follows: that Pansa's army has been cut to pieces; that Pansa has died of his wounds; that in the same engagement the Martian legion was annihilated, including L.

Peducaeum et D. Carfulenum; Hirtiano autem proelio et quartam legionem et omnes peraeque Antoni caesas, item Hirti; Quartam vero, quum castra quoque Antoni cepisset, a Quinta legione concisam esse; ibi Hirtium quoque periisse et Pontium Aquilam; dici etiam Octavianum cecidisse (quae si, quod dii prohibeant! vera sunt, non mediocriter doleo); Antonium turpiter Mutinae obsessionem reliquisse, sed habere equitum v. millia, legiones sub signis armatas tres, et Popilli[1] Bagienni unam, inermes bene multos; Ventidium quoque se cum legione Septima, Octava, Nona coniunxisse; si nihil in Lepido spei sit, descensurum ad extrema et non modo nationes, sed etiam servitia concitaturum; Parmam direptam; L. Antonium Alpes occupasse.

5 Quae si vera sunt, nemini nostrum cessandum est, nec exspectandum, quid decernat senatus. Res enim cogit, huic tanto incendio succurrere omnes, qui aut imperium aut nomen denique populi Romani salvum volunt esse. Brutum enim cohortes XVII., et duas non frequentes tironum legiones, quas conscripserat Antonius, habere audio. Neque tamen dubito, quin omnes, qui supersint de Hirti exercitu, confluant ad eum. Nam in delectu non multum spei puto esse; praesertim cum nihil sit periculosius,

[1] pupilli *M*: *Tyrrell says this may be a corruption of* Publi. *I have adopted Gardthausen's suggestion of a gentile name.*

[a] In *Att.* viii. 41. 1, L. Roscius Fabatus is mentioned as having, in company with L. Caesar, brought proposals of peace from Julius Caesar to Pompey.

[b] See notes *b*, *e* on p. 394.

[c] A violent anti-Caesarian, who was one of the conspirators. He lent large sums of money to D. Brutus, to enable him to carry on the war (Dio Cass. xlvi.).

Fabatus,[a] C. Peducaeus, and D. Carfulenus[b]; but in the battle fought by Hirtius both the Fourth legion and all Antony's were equally cut up, as also were Hirtius's; that the Fourth had even captured Antony's camp before it was cut to pieces by the Fifth; that Hirtius also and Pontius Aquila[c] fell there; that even Octavian is said to have been killed (and if all this is true, which heaven forbid! I am profoundly grieved); that Antony has ignominiously abandoned the siege of Mutina, but that he still has 5000 cavalry, three legions fully armed under their respective standards, and one under Popillius of the Bagienni,[d] besides quite a large number of unarmed men; that Ventidius too has joined him with the Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth legions; that if he has no grounds for hopes in Lepidus, he will have recourse to desperate measures, and stir up not only the tribes, but also the slaves; that Parma has been sacked, and the Alps occupied by L. Antonius.

If all this is true, not a man of us must be idle, or wait and see what the Senate decrees. Indeed, the crisis compels all who desire the empire, or even the very name of the Roman people, to be saved, to aid in extinguishing this appalling conflagration. For Brutus, I am told, has no more than seventeen cohorts and two legions, and those not at their full strength, of recruits, which Antony had enrolled. On the other hand, I have no doubt that all the survivors of Hirtius's army are streaming to join him. I do not think there is much hope in a levy, especially as nothing could be more dangerous than to give 5

[d] The Bagienni lived between the source of the Padus and the Maritime Alps.

quam spatium confirmandi sese Antonio dari. Anni autem tempus libertatem maiorem mihi dat, propterea quia frumenta aut in agris aut in villis sunt. Itaque proximis litteris consilium meum expedietur; nam neque deesse neque superesse reipublicae volo. Maxime tamen doleo, adeo et longo et infesto itinere ad me veniri, ut die quadragesimo post aut ultra etiam, quam facta sunt, omnia nuntientur.

XXXIV (A)

M. LEPIDUS IMP. ITERUM, PONT. MAX. S. P. D. M. T. C.

Ad Pontem Argenteum, A.U.C. 711.

1 S.v.b.e.e.v. Cum audissem Antonium cum suis copiis praemisso L. Antonio cum parte equitatus in provinciam meam venire, cum exercitu meo ab confluente Rhodano castra movi ac contra eos venire institui. Itaque continuis itineribus ad Forum Voconi veni et ultra castra ad flumen Argenteum contra Antonianos feci. P. Ventidius suas legiones tres coniunxit cum eo et ultra me castra posuit. Habebat antea legionem secundam, et ex reliquis legionibus magnam multitudinem, sed inermorum. Equitatum habet magnum; nam omnis ex praelio integer discessit, ita ut sint amplius equitum milia

[a] The Pons Argenteus was a little north-east of Forum Voconii (Le Canet), on the road between Aquae Sextiae (Aix) and Forum Julii (Fréjus). The river Argenteus still bears the name of Argente.

[b] *i.e.*, with the Druentia (Durance), near Avenio.

[c] See note *a* on x. 17. 1.

Antony time to establish himself. The season of the year, moreover, gives me more freedom of action, owing to the fact that corn is either stacked on the fields or in the farm-granaries. So I shall give you a full explanation of my plans in my next letter; you may be sure I have no wish either to fail the Republic or to survive it. What annoys me most, however, is that I can only be reached by a route so long and dangerous, that no news comes in before the fortieth day after the event, or even later.

XXXIV (A)

M. LEPIDUS, IMPERATOR FOR THE SECOND TIME, PONTIFEX MAXIMUS, SENDS HEARTIEST GREETINGS TO M. T. CICERO

Pons Argenteus,[a] about May 18th, 43 B.C.

If you are well, all is right; I too am well. When 1
I heard that Antony, having sent L. Antonius ahead with part of his cavalry, was entering my province with his forces, I moved with my own army from the confluence of the Rhone[b] and determined to march against them. And so, by a rapid succession of marches, I arrived at Forum Voconii, and encamped beyond that town on the river Argenteus, opposite the Antonians. P. Ventidius[c] has joined him with his own three legions, and pitched his camp even further beyond the town than I have. Before that, Antony had the Second legion and a large number of men drawn from the other legions, but unarmed. He has a large force of cavalry, for it all left the battle unscathed, so that there are more than five thousand horse.

quinque. Ad me[1] complures milites et equites ab eo transierunt, et in dies singulos eius copiae mi-
2 nuuntur. Silanus et Culleo ab eo discesserunt. Nos etsi graviter ab his laesi eramus, quod contra nostram voluntatem ad Antonium ierant, tamen, nostrae humanitatis et necessitudinis causa, eorum salutis rationem habuimus; nec tamen eorum opera utimur, neque in castris habemus neque ulli negotio praefecimus. Quod ad bellum hoc attinet, nec senatui nec reipublicae deerimus. Quae postea egerimus, faciam te certiorem.

XXXIV (B)

LEPIDUS CICERONI

Ad Pontem Argenteum, A.U.C. 711.

1 Etsi omni tempore summa studia offici mutuo inter nos certatim constiterunt pro nostra inter nos familiaritate, et proinde diligenter ab utroque conservata sunt, tamen non dubito, in tanto et tam repentino reipublicae motu, quin nonnulla de me falsis rumoribus a meis obtrectatoribus me indigna ad te delata sint, quae tuum animum magno opere moverent pro tuo amore in rempublicam. Ea te moderate accepisse neque temere credendum iudicasse, a meis procuratoribus certior sum factus; quae

[1] *Tyrrell, following Madvig*: equitum. itaque ad *M*: equitum M. Itaque *K. Pal.*

[a] See note *a* on p. 394.

[b] Q. Terentius Culleo was appointed by Lepidus to guard the passes of the Alps, but Antony persuaded him to let him through.

A good number of infantry and cavalry men have crossed over from him to me, and his forces are dwindling day by day.

Silanus[a] and Culleo[b] have left him. Although 2
by joining Antony against my wishes they had done me a serious injury, for all that, because of my kindly feeling and the close connexion between us, I have determined to spare their lives; at the same time I do not avail myself of their services; I keep them outside my camp, and I have not put them in command of any operation.

As far as this war is concerned, I shall not fail in my duty either to the Senate or to the State. I shall keep you informed of whatever I may do in the future.

XXXIV (B)

LEPIDUS TO THE SAME

Pons Argenteus, May 22, 43 B.C.

Although, intimate friends as we are, there has 1
never been a time when we failed to vie with one another in the kindliest mutual devotion, conscientiously maintained in the same spirit on either side, yet I doubt not that in so serious and sudden an upheaval in public affairs some representations based on false rumours have been made to you by my detractors about me, which, being unworthy of me, were enough to cause you, loving the Republic as you do, no little perturbation of mind. That you received those reports with reserve, and decided that they should not be hastily credited, my agents have informed me; and it has naturally been a great

mihi, ut debent, gratissima sunt. Memini enim et illa superiora, quae abs tua voluntate profecta sunt ad meam dignitatem augendam et ornandam, quae
2 perpetuo animo meo fixa manebunt. Abs te, mi Cicero, magno opere peto, si meam vitam studium diligentissime superioribus temporibus in republica administranda, quae Lepido digna sunt, perspecta habes, ut paria, aut eo ampliora reliquo tempore exspectes, et proinde tua auctoritate me tuendum existimes, quo tibi plura tuo merito debeo. Vale. D. XI. Kalendas Iunias, ex castris, ex Ponte Argenteo.

XXXV

LEPIDUS IMP. ITER. PONT. MAX. S. D. SENAT. POP. PL. Q. R.

A ponte Argentes, A.U.C. 711.

1 S.v. liberique vestri v.b.e.e.q.v. Deos hominesque testor, patres conscripti, qua mente et quo animo semper in rempublicam fuerim, et quam nihil antiquius communi salute ac libertate iudicarim;

[a] Lepidus does not mention the consuls, knowing that Hirtius and Pansa are both dead. For the expression "People and Plebs" see note on x. 8. 1.

Twelve days after he had assured Cicero that "as far as this war is concerned, I shall not fail in my duty either to the Senate or to the State" (x. 34. 2), Lepidus here writes that he has been compelled to join forces with Antony—a *volte-face* which ruined the prospects of the Senatorial party.

That his defection was the result of sudden coercion is hard to believe; it was more probably long premeditated; he had been closely associated with Antony since Caesar's death, Antony had made him *Pontifex Maximus*, and his son had married Antony's daughter. The reward of his treachery was a place with Antony and Octavian in the second Triumvirate.

pleasure to me. For I do not forget those earlier favours of yours which, prompted by your goodwill, tended to enhance and dignify my position—favours that will remain for ever fixed in my heart.

I earnestly beg of you, my dear Cicero, if there is 2
no doubt in your mind as to my career and devotion—and they are worthy of a Lepidus—as a punctiliously assiduous administrator of public affairs in the past, to look for services equally if not more substantial in the future, and to regard me as deserving the protection of your patronage in exact proportion as your goodness to me increases my indebtedness to you. The Camp at Pons Argenteus, May 22nd.

XXXV

M. LEPIDUS, IMPERATOR FOR THE SECOND TIME, PONTIFEX MAXIMUS, SENDS GREETINGS TO THE PRAETORS, TRIBUNES OF THE PLEBS, THE SENATE, PEOPLE AND PLEBS OF ROME [a]

Pons Argenteus, May 30th, 43 B.C.

If you and your children are well, all is right. I 1
also am well. I call gods and men to witness, conscript fathers, what my inclinations and feelings have ever been towards the Republic, and how I have deemed nothing of more vital importance than the general security of life and liberty; and this

quod vobis brevi probassem, nisi mihi fortuna proprium consilium extorsisset. Nam exercitus cunctus consuetudinem suam in civibus conservandis communique pace, seditione facta, retinuit meque tantae multitudinis civium Romanorum salutis atque incolumitatis causam suscipere, ut vere dicam, coegit.
2 In qua re ego vos, patres conscripti, oro atque obsecro, ut, privatis offensionibus omissis, summae reipublicae consulatis neve misericordiam nostram exercitusque nostri in civili dissensione sceleris loco ponatis. Quod si salutis omnium ac dignitatis rationem habueritis, melius et vobis et reipublicae consuletis. Data III. Kal. Iunias a Ponte Argenteo. Valete.

I should shortly have proved to you, had not the development of my own special policy been wrenched out of my hands by fortune. For my army, rising in mutiny as one man, held to its traditional custom in preserving the lives of its fellow-citizens and the peace of the community, and, to speak the truth, *compelled* me to undertake the support of so vast a number of Roman citizens in their claims to life and civil rights.

And in this matter, I pray and beseech you, 2
conscript fathers, to lay aside private feuds, and consider the highest interests of the State, and not to set down as a crime the mercy shown by myself and my army at a time of civil discord. If you decide to consider the safety and political standing of all parties, you will better promote your own interests, as well as those of the State. Pons Argenteus, May 30th.

LIBER UNDECIMUS

I

D. BRUTUS BRUTO SUO ET C. CASSIO S.

Romae, A.U.C. 710.

1 Quo in statu simus, cognoscite; heri vesperi apud me Hirtius fuit; qua mente esset Antonius, demonstravit, pessima scilicet et infidelissima. Nam se neque mihi provinciam dare posse aiebat neque arbitrari tuto in urbe esse quemque nostrum; adeo esse militum concitatos animos et plebis; quod

[a] Decimus Junius Brutus Albinus (the additional cognomen was due to his adoption by A. Postumius Albinus, consul in 99 B.C.) was appointed commander of the fleet by Caesar in 56, and in that capacity was successful against the Veneti. In 52 he served under Caesar in Gaul, and did good service against Vercingetorix. Returning to Rome in 50 he married Paulla Valeria (viii. 7. 2). In 49 he commanded the fleet which effected the surrender of Massilia. In 48 Caesar appointed him governor of Transalpine Gaul, where he put down a revolt of the Bellovaci. Caesar promised him the praetorship for 44, to be followed by the governorship of Cisalpine Gaul, and the consulship, with Plancus, in 42.

Favoured as he had been by Caesar, prompted probably by jealousy of Antony and Octavian, he helped the conspirators on the Ides of March by engaging Antony in talk during the perpetration of the murder. After that event Decimus, being in command of a considerable military force, had he possessed

BOOK XI

I

DECIMUS JUNIUS BRUTUS [a] TO M. BRUTUS AND C. CASSIUS

Rome, morning of March 17, 44 B.C.

Let me tell you how we are situated; Hirtius was at my house yesterday evening; he explained what Antony's intentions were—utterly base, you may be sure, and untrustworthy; for he said that he could not possibly give me my province, and also that it was not safe for any of us to be in Rome, so excited were the feelings of the soldiers and the people. You observe, 1

courage and initiative, might have played a conspicuous part in subsequent politics. But this letter (written, as O. E. Schmidt proves, on March 17th, *before* the meeting of the Senate on that day in the temple of Tellus, at which an amnesty was granted to the tyrannicides, and *after* a conference held by Antony and his party on the 16th had been reported to him by Hirtius, who was present) proves him to have been faint-hearted and downcast at the first show of opposition on the part of Antony. Shortly afterwards he left for his province, Cisalpine Gaul, and then, on the strength of some successful raids upon Alpine tribes in the summer of 44, he wrote to Cicero asking him to support his appeal for a triumph. Meanwhile Antony had had Cisalpine Gaul transferred to himself, and in 43 began to lay siege to Mutina. [For what followed see the note on the Cisalpine Campaign prefixed to Bk. X.]

utrumque esse falsum puto vos animadvertere atque illud esse verum quod Hirtius demonstrabat, timere eum ne, si mediocre auxilium dignitatis nostrae habuissemus, nullae partes sibi[1] in republica relinqueretur.

2 Cum in his angustiis versarer, placitum est mihi ut postularem legationem liberam mihi reliquisque nostris, ut aliqua causa proficiscendi honesta quaereretur. Haec se impetraturum pollicitus est; nec tamen impetraturum confido; tanta est hominum insolentia et nostri insectatio. Ac si dederint, quod petimus, tamen paullo post futurum puto, ut hostes iu-
3 dicemur, aut aqua et igni interdicamur. Quid ergo est, inquis, tui consili? Dandus est locus fortunae; cedendum ex Italia, migrandum Rhodum aut aliquo terrarum arbitror. Si melior casus fuerit, revertemur Romam; si mediocris, in exsilio vivemus; si pessimus,
4 ad novissima auxilia descendemus. Succurret fortasse hoc loco alicui vestrum, cur novissimum tempus exspectemus potius, quam nunc aliquid moliamur? Quia, ubi consistamus, non habemus praeter Sex. Pompeium et Bassum Caecilium, qui mihi videntur, hoc nuntio de Caesare allato, firmiores futuri. Satis tempore ad eos accedemus, ubi, quid valeant, scierimus. Pro Cassio et te, si quid me velitis recipere, recipiam. Postulat enim hoc Hirtius ut faciam.

[1] *Lambinus*: his *M*: suis *Kahnt*.

I am sure, that both those statements are false, and that the truth is to be found in what Hirtius pointed out—Antony is afraid that, if our claims should have met with even moderate support, no part would be left for him to play on the political stage.

Being in these straits, I decided to demand for myself and our other friends an honorary ambassadorship,[a] so as to discover some decent pretext for leaving Rome. This Hirtius has promised to obtain for me, and yet I have no confidence that he will so do, so insolent are these men, and so set on persecuting us. And even if they grant our request, it will not, I fancy, prevent our being declared public enemies or banned as outlaws in the near future. 2

"What then," you say, "have you to suggest?" 3
Well, we must bow to fortune; I think we must get out of Italy and migrate to Rhodes, or somewhere or other; if there is a change for the better, we shall return to Rome; if there is no great change, we shall live on in exile; if it comes to the worst, we shall have recourse to the last means of defending ourselves.

It will perhaps occur to someone among you at this 4
point to ask why we should wait for that *last* stage rather than make some strong effort at once? Because we have no centre to rally around, except indeed Sextus Pompeius[b] and Caecilius Bassus,[c] who, it seems to me, are likely to be more firmly established when they have this news about Caesar. It will be time enough for us to join them when we have found out what their strength really is. On behalf of you and Cassius, I will make any engagement you wish me to make; in fact Hirtius insists upon my doing so.

[a] *Libera legatio* was an unofficial embassy, enabling a Senator to leave Rome on his own private affairs at the expense of the State.

[b] Sextus Pompeius was now among the Lacetani at the foot of the Pyrenees, standing out against Asinius Pollio.

[c] Caecilius Bassus had intrigued against Sext. Julius Caesar, who had been appointed Governor of Syria by his relative C. Julius Caesar in 46. A meeting ensued, with the result that Bassus got command of the troops, and was now holding his own against an army sent by C. Julius Caesar.

5 Rogo vos, quam primum mihi rescribatis (nam non dubito, quin his de rebus ante horam quartam Hirtius certiorem me sit facturus); quem in locum convenire
6 possimus, quo me velitis venire, rescribite. Post novissimum Hirti sermonem placitum est mihi postulare, ut liceret nobis esse Romae publico praesidio; quod illos nobis concessuros non puto. Magnam enim invidiam iis faciemus. Nihil tamen non postulandum putavi, quod aequum esse statuerem.

II

BRUTUS ET CASSIUS PRAETT. M. ANTONIO COS.

Lanuvi, A.U.C. 710.

1 De tua fide et benevolentia in nos nisi persuasum esset nobis, non conscripsissemus haec tibi; quae profecto, quando istum animum habes, in optimam partem accipies. Scribitur nobis magnam veteranorum multitudinem Romam convenisse iam, et ad Kalendas Iunias futuram multo maiorem. De te si dubitemus aut vereamur, simus nostri dissimiles. Sed certe, cum ipsi in tua potestate fuerimus, tuoque adducti consilio dimiserimus ex municipiis nostros

[a] About April 25 Antony had gone on a journey into Italy in order to summon veterans to Rome for June 1.

I must ask you both to reply to my letter as soon as possible—because I have no doubt that Hirtius will inform me about these matters before the fourth hour—and let me know in your reply at what place we can meet, where you would like me to come. 5

P.S.—Since my last conversation with Hirtius I have determined to ask for permission, while we are at Rome, to have a bodyguard at the public expense; but I do not expect they will grant us that privilege, because we shall raise a storm of unpopularity against them. Still I thought I should neglect no appeal which I decided to be reasonable. 6

II

M. BRUTUS AND CASSIUS, PRAETORS, TO M. ANTONIUS, CONSUL

Lanuvium, end of May, 44 B.C.

Had we not been convinced of your sincerity and goodwill towards us, we should not have composed this letter to you; and we are assured, such being your habit of mind, that you will put the best possible construction upon it. We are told by letter that a large number of veterans have already assembled at Rome,[a] and that as the Calends of June approach, the number will be much larger. Were we to entertain any doubt or apprehension as regards yourself, we should be untrue to ourselves. But seeing that we have put ourselves at your disposal, and in deference to your advice have dismissed our personal friends from the provincial towns, and have 1

necessarios, neque solum edicto, sed etiam litteris id fecerimus, digni sumus, quos habeas tui consili participes, in ea praesertim re, quae ad nos pertinet.
2 Quare petimus a te, facias nos certiores tuae voluntatis in nos; putesne nos tutos fore in tanta frequentia militum veteranorum, quos etiam de reponenda ara cogitare audimus; quod velle et probare vix quisquam posse videtur, qui nos salvos et honestos velit. Nos ab initio spectasse otium nec quidquam aliud libertate communi quaesisse, exitus declarat. Fallere nemo nos potest, nisi tu; quod certe abest ab tua virtute et fide; sed alius nemo facultatem habet decipiendi nos; tibi enim uni credidimus et credituri
3 sumus. Maximo de nobis timore afficiuntur amici nostri; quibus etsi tua fides explorata est, tamen illud in mentem venit, multitudinem veteranorum facilius impelli ab alio quolibet, quam a te retineri posse. Rescribas nobis ad omnia, rogamus. Nam illud valde leve est ac nugatorium, ea re denuntiatum esse veteranis, quod de commodis eorum mense Iunio laturus esses. Quem enim impedimento futurum putas, cum de nobis certum sit, nos quieturos? Non

[a] This edict dismissed from the municipalities the body-guards Brutus and Cassius had enlisted to protect them on their return to Rome. "Brutus, though praetor of the City, was without a city: and though all Italy was prepared to defend him, preferred to rely on the moral support of honourable men, while he was away from Rome, than on physical force, if he were there." This is the purport of *Phil.* x. 7.

[b] The altar, or column, raised in the Forum, inscribed with the words *Caesari parenti patriae*. During Antony's absence in Italy this altar had been overthrown by Dolabella, who punished those who had raised it by throwing some from

done so not only by edict[a] but by letter as well, we surely deserve that you should admit us into your counsels, especially in a matter which affects ourselves.

And for that reason we beg of you to inform us of 2
your attitude of mind towards us, whether you think we shall be safe amid so great a throng of veteran soldiers, who, we are told, are even thinking of replacing the altar,[b]—a thing we believe that hardly anybody can desire or approve, who desires our own safety and honour.

That we have from the beginning fixed our eyes on tranquillity, and have sought nothing other than the liberty of the community, is made clear by what has happened. Nobody can play us false but yourself, and that is obviously foreign to your high character and integrity; but nobody else has the means of deceiving us; for it is you, and you alone, that we have trusted and shall continue to trust.

Our friends are terribly alarmed about us; and 3
although they are fully assured of your good faith, still they are obsessed by the reflection that a mass of veterans can be more easily driven in any direction by anybody else than held in check by you. We ask you to reply to us on all points. For the allegation that such an order was issued to veterans because it was your intention to bring forward the question of their interests[c] in the month of June is as frivolous as it is futile. Whom do you suppose to be likely to obstruct your intention, seeing that, as far as we are concerned, it is definitely decided that we shall take no action?

the Tarpeian rock and crucifying others—an exploit loudly applauded by Cicero.

[c] A reference to the proposed land-law of Lucius Antonius, assigning land to the veterans.

debemus cuiquam videri nimium cupidi vitae, cum accidere nobis nihil possit sine pernicie et confusione omnium rerum.

III

BRUTUS ET CASSIUS PRAETT. S. D. ANTONIO COS.

Neapoli, A.U.C. 710.

1 S.v.b.e. Litteras tuas legimus, simillimas edicti tui, contumeliosas, minaces, minime dignas, quae a te nobis mitterentur. Nos, Antoni, te nulla lacessiimus iniuria neque miraturum credidimus, si praetores et ea dignitate homines aliquid edicto postulassemus a consule. Quod si indignaris ausos esse id facere, concede nobis, ut doleamus, ne hoc quidem abs te
2 Bruto et Cassio tribui. Nam de delectibus habitis et pecuniis imperatis, exercitibus sollicitatis, et nuntiis trans mare missis, quod te questum esse negas, nos quidem tibi credimus, optimo animo te fecisse; sed tamen neque agnoscimus quidquam eorum, et te miramur, cum haec reticueris, non potuisse continere

[a] I have followed Jeans in adopting a form of address better suited to the spirit of the letter than "If you are well, all is right."

[b] The concession applied for by Brutus and Cassius was not that they should be allowed to absent themselves from Rome, but that they should be relieved of the commission, imposed rather than conferred upon them by Antony, to supply the City with corn—a commission they resented as tantamount to an insult. But instead of writing in the first instance to the consuls, they had made their request in a published document (*edictum*), which had provoked a contumelious refusal from Antony, to which this letter is a reply.

[c] Antony seems to have heard rumours that Brutus and Cassius had been acting as he alleges (tampering with the Syrian and Macedonian legions, etc.) and had protested, though he denied having done so.

Nobody has a right to impute to us an undue love of life, when there is nothing that can befall us unaccompanied by universal ruin and chaos.

III

BRUTUS AND CASSIUS, PRAETORS, SEND GREETING TO M. ANTONY, CONSUL

Naples, August 4, 44 B.C.

Sir,[a]—We have perused your letter, which closely 1 follows the lines of your public proclamation, being insulting, intimidating, and by no means a proper letter for *you* to have addressed to *us*.

On our part, Sir, by no single injurious act have we provoked you, and we never believed that it would cause you surprise if we praetors, or indeed any men holding our position, should have appealed in a public manifesto for some concession from the consul.[b] But if you resent our having ventured so far, permit us at least to regret that so small a favour is being refused by you to a Brutus and a Cassius.

As for your denial that you made any complaint as 2 to the raising of troops, the requisitioning of sums of money, the tampering with the legions, and the sending of despatches across the sea,[c] we indeed credit you with having made that denial in all good faith; at the same time, however, we refuse to acknowledge the truth of a single word of those allegations, and it surprises us that, though you kept silent about all this,

iracundiam tuam, quin nobis de morte Caesaris
3 obiceres. Illud vero quemadmodum ferendum sit,
tute cogita: non licere praetoribus concordiae ac
libertatis causa per edictum de suo iure decedere,
quin consul arma minetur. Quorum fiducia nihil est,
quod nos terreas. Neque enim decet aut convenit
nobis periculo ulli submittere animum nostrum,
neque est Antonio postulandum, ut iis imperet,
quorum opera liber est. Nos si alia hortarentur, ut
bellum civile suscitare vellemus, litterae tuae nihil
proficerent. Nulla enim minantis auctoritas apud
liberos est. Sed pulchre intellegis, non posse nos
quoquam impelli; et fortassis ea re minaciter agis,
4 ut iudicium nostrum metus videatur. Nos in hac
sententia sumus, ut te cupiamus in libera republica
magnum atque honestum esse, vocemus te ad nullas
inimicitias, sed tamen pluris nostram libertatem,
quam tuam amicitiam aestimemus. Tu etiam atque
etiam vide, quid suscipias, quid sustinere possis;
neque, quam diu vixerit Caesar, sed quam non diu
regnarit, fac cogites. Deos quaesumus, consilia tua
reipublicae salutaria sint ac tibi; si minus, ut, salva
atque honesta republica, tibi quam minimum noceant,
optamus. Pridie Nonas Sext.

you were so little able to control your anger as to
reproach us with the death of Caesar.

This much, however, we would have you consider 3
yourself—how far it is to be tolerated that praetors
should not be allowed in the interests of harmony
and liberty to waive by public announcement some
of their own rights without being threatened with
armed violence by the Consul. Your reliance on such
methods has no terrors for us; for neither is it seemly
or suitable for us, on our side, to bow our spirit
before any peril, nor is it for Antony to claim lordship
over those to whose efforts he owes his freedom. As
for ourselves, were we urged by other considerations
to wish to fan the flame of civil war, your letter would
have no effect whatever; for the man who threatens
has no authority among free men. But you are per-
fectly well aware that we are not to be driven either
this way or that, and it is quite likely that the motive
of your blustering is to give our prudence the appear-
ance of panic.

Our sentiments are these: we are anxious that you 4
should hold a high and honourable position in any
constitution that is free, and we challenge you to no
kind of hostility; but, for all that, we attach less value
to your friendship than to our own liberty.

Consider again and again what you are under-
taking, and what strength you have for it; and be
sure you remember, not how long was Caesar's life,
but how far from long was his reign. We pray to
heaven that your counsels may conduce to the
welfare of the State and of yourself; failing that, our
prayer is that they may be as little harmful to your-
self as is consistent with the welfare and honour of
the Republic. Aug. 4th.

IV

D. BRUTUS IMP. COS. DESIGN. S. D. CICERONI

In Gallia Cisalpina, A.U.C. 710.

1 Si de tua in me voluntate dubitarem, multis a te verbis peterem, ut dignitatem meam tuerere; sed profecto est ita, ut mihi persuasi, me tibi esse curae. Progressus sum ad Inalpinos cum exercitu, non tam nomen imperatorium captans, quam cupiens militibus satisfacere firmosque eos ad tuendas nostras res
2 efficere. Quod mihi videor consecutus; nam et liberalitatem nostram, et animum sunt experti. Cum omnium bellicosissimis bellum gessi, multa castella cepi, multa vastavi. Non sine causa ad senatum litteras misi. Adiuva nos tua sententia; quod cum facies, ex magna parte communi commodo inservieris.

V

M. CICERO S. D. BRUTO IMP. COS. DES.

Romae, A.U.C. 710.

1 Lupus familiaris noster, cum a te venisset, cumque Romae quosdam dies commoraretur, ego eram in iis locis, in quibus maxime tuto me esse arbitrabar. Eo

[a] They lived in the modern Piedmont and Savoy.

[b] Or, possibly, "my intention," *i.e.* to attach them to his cause.

[c] Probably the P. Rutilius Lupus who was tribune of the plebs in 56, and proposed that Ptolemy Auletes should be restored by Pompey (i. 1. 3).

IV

D. BRUTUS, IMPERATOR, CONSUL DESIGNATE, SENDS GREETING TO M. CICERO

Gallia Cisalpina, October or early November, 44 B.C.

Had I any doubt as to your feelings towards me, I 1
should make a wordy appeal to you to support my claims; but I am sure the truth is as I have convinced myself—that you have my interests at heart. I have advanced with my troops as far as the Inalpini,[a] not so much because I aimed at the title of *imperator*, as because I desire to satisfy my men, and strengthen them in support of our cause.

In this I believe I have succeeded; for they have 2
had experience both of my generosity and my courage.[b] I have waged war against the most warlike people in the world, captured many fortresses, and devastated much country. I had ample justification for sending a despatch to the Senate. Give me the benefit of your support in the House; when you do this, you will have to no slight extent subserved the public interests.

V

CICERO GREETS DECIMUS BRUTUS, IMPERATOR, CONSUL DESIGNATE

Rome, shortly after December 9, 44 B.C.

Although our friend Lupus[c] had come from you 1
and was staying some days at Rome, I was then at various places where I thought it was safe for me to

factum est, ut ad te Lupus sine meis litteris rediret, cum tamen curasset tuas ad me perferendas. Romam autem veni a. d. quintum Idus Decembres, nec habui quidquam antiquius, quam ut Pansam statim convenirem; ex quo ea de te cognovi, quae maxime optabam. Quare hortatione tu quidem non eges, si ne illa quidem in re, quae a te gesta est post hominum
2 memoriam maxima, hortatorem desiderasti. Illud tamen breviter significandum videtur, populum Romanum omnia a te exspectare, atque in te aliquando recuperandae libertatis omnem spem ponere. Tu, si dies noctesque memineris (quod te facere certo scio), quantam rem gesseris, non obliviscere profecto, quantae tibi etiam nunc gerendae sint. Si enim iste provinciam nactus erit, cui quidem ego semper amicus fui ante quam illum intellexi, non modo aperte, sed etiam libenter cum republica bellum
3 gerere, spem reliquam nullam video salutis. Quamobrem te obsecro iisdem precibus, quibus S. P. Q. R., ut in perpetuum rempublicam dominatu regio liberes, ut principiis consentiant exitus. Tuum est hoc munus, tuae partes; a te hoc civitas vel omnes potius gentes non exspectant solum, sed etiam postulant. Quamquam, cum hortatione non egeas, ut supra scripsi, non utar ea pluribus verbis, faciam illud, quod

[a] Cicero wrote this letter about Dec. 11th, and the subsequent course of events was probably, according to Tyrrell, as follows:

Dec. 18 (evening). Lupus returns from Mutina to Rome.
Dec. 19. He has conference with Cicero and others.
Dec. 19. Cicero writes xi. 7.
Dec. 20. Meeting of the Senate in which Cicero delivers *Phil.* iii.
Dec. 20 (evening). Cicero writes xi. 6.

be. The result was that Lupus returned to you without a letter from me, though he had charged himself with the delivery to me of yours. I came to Rome, however, on the 9th of December,[a] and nothing seemed to me more urgently important than an early interview with Pansa, and from him I learnt about you what I most earnestly prayed for.[b] It follows that you stand in no need of encouragement, seeing that you never felt the lack of anyone to encourage you even in that achievement of yours, which was the greatest within the memory of man.[c]

To this fact, however, I think a brief reference 2
should be made, that the people of Rome look to you for everything, and rest upon you all their hope of ultimately recovering their liberty. If you recall to mind day and night (and I am well aware that you do), how much you have already achieved, you will assuredly not forget how much even now remains for you to achieve. For if once your province falls into the hands of the man you wot of—though indeed I was always his friend until I became aware that he was waging war not only openly but joyously against the Republic—I see no hope of salvation left.

And that is why I join my prayers to those of the 3
Senate and people of Rome that you will set the Republic free for all time from the tyranny of a king, and make your ending agree with your beginning. Yours is this task, and yours the part to play; it is you that the State, nay, rather all the nations of the world, look to for this, and even demand it of you. Although, since you stand in no need of it, I shall waste no more words on encouragement, still I shall

[b] *i.e.*, your attitude towards the Republic.
[c] *i.e.*, the assassination of Caesar.

meum est, ut tibi omnia mea officia, studia, curas, cogitationes pollicear, quae ad tuam laudem et gloriam pertinebunt. Quamobrem velim tibi ita persuadeas, me tum reipublicae causa, quae mihi vita mea est carior, tum quod tibi ipse faveam, tuamque dignitatem amplificari velim, tuis optimis consiliis, amplitudini, gloriae nullo loco defuturum.

VI

M. CICERO S. D. D. BRUTO IMP. COS. DES.

Romae, A.U.C. 710.

1 Lupus noster cum Romam sexto die Mutina venisset, postridie me mane convenit; tua mihi mandata diligentissime exposuit et litteras reddidit. Quod mihi tuam dignitatem commendas, eodem tempore existimo te mihi meam dignitatem commendare, quam mehercule non habeo tua cariorem. Quare mihi gratissimum facies, si exploratum habebis, tuis laudibus nullo loco nec consilium nec studium meum
2 defuturum. Cum tribuni plebis edixissent, senatus adesset a. d. XIII. Kal. Ian. haberentque in animo de praesidio consulum designatorum referre, quamquam statueram in senatum ante Kal. Ian. non venire,

[a] *i.e.*, after leaving Mutina. He arrived in Rome on Dec. 18.

do what is incumbent upon me, and promise you all my service and sympathy, my solicitude and my thoughts—whatever in fact will tend to your renown and glory. And so I would have you convince yourself of this, that not only for the sake of the commonwealth, which is more precious to me than my own life, but also because I am personally devoted to you, and desire the exaltation of your high position, I shall at no point fail to support your most admirable policy, your advancement, and your fame.

VI

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, December 20, 44 B.C.

When our friend Lupus came to Rome from Mutina 1
on the 6th day [a] he called upon me early on the next day. He was most painstaking in the elucidation of your messages, and delivered your letter. In commending to me the defence of your position you are at the same time, I take it, commending to me my own, which, I solemnly assure you, I do not regard as more precious than yours. You will therefore give me the greatest possible pleasure if you regard it as an indisputable fact that at no point will either my counsel or devotion be found to fail you in the enhancement of your distinction.

The tribunes of the plebs had given notice that the 2
Senate would meet on the 20th of December, when it was their intention to make a proposal for the protection of the consuls designate; so although I had decided not to attend a Senate before the 1st of

tamen, quum eo die ipso edictum tuum propositum esset, nefas esse duxi, aut ita haberi senatum, ut de tuis divinis in rempublicam meritis sileretur (quod factum esset, nisi ego venissem), aut, etiamsi quid de
3 te honorifice diceretur, me non adesse. Itaque in senatum veni mane. Quod cum esset animadversum, frequentissimi senatores convenerunt. Quae de te in senatu egerim, quae in contione maxima dixerim, aliorum te litteris malo cognoscere. Illud tibi persuadeas velim, me omnia, quae ad tuam dignitatem augendam pertinebunt, quae est per se amplissima, summo semper studio suscepturum et defensurum; quod quamquam intellego me cum multis esse facturum, tamen appetam huius rei principatum.

VII

M. CICERO S. D. D. BRUTO IMP. COS. DES.

Romae, A.U.C. 710.

1 Cum adhibuisset domi meae Lupus me et Libonem et Servium, consobrinum tuum, quae mea fuerit sententia, cognosse te ex M. Seio arbitror, qui nostro sermoni interfuit. Reliqua, quamquam statim Seium

[a] *i.e.*, "se provinciam Galliam retenturum in Senatus populique Romani potestate" ("that he would not let the province of Gaul pass out of the power of the Senate and people of Rome"), *Phil.* iii. 8. The date referred to is of course Dec. 20th. The substance of Cicero's speech on that day ("what I proposed, etc." *infra*) is to be found in *Phil.* iii. and iv.

[b] This letter chronologically precedes *Ep.* 6.

[c] Probably the father-in-law of Sextus Pompeius who commanded the fleet in the Civil War.

January, still, seeing that your proclamation[a] had been put down for discussion on that very day, I thought it a scandal that either a Senate should be held without any mention being made of your immortal services to the Republic (and that is what would have happened had I not attended), or that even if any complimentary reference were made to you, I should not be in my place.

I therefore came to the Senate early, and on my 3
arrival being noticed, the members flocked together in full force. What I proposed in the Senate concerning you, and what I said at that crowded meeting, I prefer that you should learn from the letters of others; I would only have you assure yourself that I shall always undertake to support with the utmost enthusiasm whatever tends to the advancement of your position, exalted as it is in itself; and although I quite understand that many others will join me in so doing, in this matter I shall aspire to take the lead.

VII

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, December 19, 44 B.C.[b]

Since Lupus had Libo[c] and your cousin Servius[d] to 1
meet me at my house, I expect you have learnt what my sentiments were from M. Seius,[e] who also took part in our conversation. The rest you will be able to learn

[d] Servius Sulpicius Galba, great-grandfather of the emperor; it was he who sent Cicero an account of the battle of Forum Gallorum (x. 30).

[e] Probably the son of the M. Seius mentioned in ix. 7. 1.

Graeceius est subsecutus, tamen ex Graeceio poteris
2 cognoscere. Caput autem est hoc, quod te diligentissime percipere et meminisse velim, ut ne in libertate et salute populi Romani conservanda auctoritatem senatus exspectes, nondum liberi, ne et tuum factum condemnes (nullo enim publico consilio rempublicam liberavisti, quo etiam est res illa maior et clarior), et adulescentem, vel puerum potius, Caesarem, iudices temere fecisse, qui tantam causam publicam privato consilio susceperit; denique homines rusticos, sed fortissimos viros civesque optimos, dementes fuisse iudices, primum milites veteranos, commilitones tuos, deinde legionem Martiam, legionem Quartam, quae suum consulem hostem iudicaverunt seque ad salutem reipublicae defendendam contulerunt. Voluntas senatus pro auctoritate haberi debet, cum auctoritas
3 impeditur metu. Postremo suscepta tibi causa iam bis est, ut non sit integrum, primum Idibus Martiis, deinde proxime, exercitu novo et copiis comparatis. Quamobrem ad omnia ita paratus, ita animatus debes esse, non ut nihil facias, nisi iussus, sed ut ea geras, quae ab omnibus summa cum admiratione laudentur.

[a] A friend, and perhaps a *legàtus* of D. Brutus.
[b] Octavius was not more than eighteen at this time; the "public responsibility" was his definite defiance of Antony, including his enlistment of the men mentioned below, the veterans of Julius Caesar, whom he won over first at Calatia and Casilinum (Vell. ii. 61).

from Graeceius,[a] though indeed he left only a few minutes after Seius.

But the main point is this—and I would have you 2
grasp it and bear it in mind most carefully—that in the matter of preserving the liberty and welfare of the Roman people you are *not* to await the sanction of a Senate which is still enslaved, for by so doing you would not only stultify your own action (it was by no public authority, you know, that you freed the Republic, and that, of course, makes the achievement all the more magnificent and illustrious), but you would also convict the youth, or rather the boy,[b] Caesar, of foolhardy action in having taken up so heavy a public responsibility all on his own initiative; and finally, you would convict of insane folly men who, though country-bred, are yet very gallant soldiers and very excellent citizens—I mean, firstly, the veterans, your own comrades-in-arms, and secondly, the Martian legion, and the Fourth, who declared their own consul a public enemy, and flung themselves into the defence of the public safety. When its formal sanction is obstructed by intimidation, the wishes of the Senate must be regarded as the equivalent of such sanction.

Lastly, you have now chosen your side twice, so 3
that you have not a free hand; first on the Ides of March, and again, lately, by the enlistment of your new army and forces. You ought, therefore, whatever happens, to be so prepared and so minded as not indeed to do nothing without orders, but to go on achieving what will meet with universal praise and the most genuine admiration.

VIII

M. CICERO S. D. BRUTO IMP. COS. DES.

Romae, A.U.C. 711.

1 Eo tempore Polla tua misit, ut ad te, si quid vellem, darem litterarum, cum quid scriberem, non habebam. Omnia enim erant suspensa propter exspectationem legatorum, qui quid egissent nihildum nuntiabatur. Haec tamen scribenda existimavi: primum, S. P. Q. R. de te laborare, non solum salutis suae causa, sed etiam dignitatis tuae. Admirabilis enim est quaedam tui nominis caritas, amorque in te singularis omnium civium. Ita enim sperant atque confidunt, ut antea rege, sic hoc tempore regno te rempublicam libera-
2 turum. Romae delectus habetur totaque Italia, si hic delectus appellandus est, cum ultro se offerunt omnes; tantus ardor occupavit animos hominum desiderio libertatis odioque diutinae servitutis. De reliquis rebus a te iam exspectare litteras debemus, quid ipse agas, quid noster Hirtius, quid Caesar meus; quos spero brevi tempore societate victoriae tecum copulatos fore. Reliquum est, ut de me id scribam, quod te ex tuorum litteris et spero et malo cognoscere,

[a] Or "Paulla" (viii. 7. 2). For the double form cf. *Claudius* and *Clodius*, *plaustrum* and *plostrum*.

[b] The three envoys sent by the Senate on Jan. 5 to treat with Antony before Mutina: they were Servius Sulpicius, L. Piso, and L. Philippus. Servius Sulpicius (the writer of the letter of condolence to Cicero on the death of Tullia, iv. 5) died before they reached Antony, and the other two failed lamentably in their mission.

[c] Cicero thought very highly of Octavian at this time.

VIII

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, end of January, 43 B.C.

Your wife Polla[a] sent to me to give her anything I 1
felt inclined in the way of a letter to you, just when I did not know what to write about. For all is in suspense, as we are anxiously awaiting the envoys,[b] no news of what they have accomplished having yet reached us. This much, however, I thought I ought to write, first of all that the Senate and people of Rome are greatly concerned about you, out of regard, not only for their own safety, but also for your own eminent position. In fact there is somehow a marvellous affection inspired by your name, and an unprecedented love of you among all classes of citizens; they are hopeful and confident that as you before delivered the Commonwealth from a monarch, so you will at the present crisis deliver it from a monarchy.

A levy is being held at Rome and throughout 2
Italy, if indeed you can call it a levy, when all are offering themselves voluntarily; so intense is the enthusiasm inspired in men's hearts by their yearning for liberty and their abhorrence of a long term of slavery. About all the other matters, it is now time that I ought to be expecting a letter from you to say what you and your friend Hirtius are doing, and also my friend Caesar,[c] both of whom I hope will very shortly have become united to you by the bonds of a common victory. It remains for me to write that about myself which I hope (and I prefer it so) that you are being told in your friends' correspondence—

me neque deesse ulla in re, neque umquam defuturum dignitati tuae.

IX

D. BRUTUS S. D. M. CICERONI

Ad Regium Lepidi, A.U.C. 711.

1 Pansa amisso, quantum detrimenti respublica acceperit, non te praeterit. Nunc auctoritate et prudentia tua prospicias oportet, ne inimici nostri, consulibus sublatis, sperent se convalescere posse. Ego, ne consistere possit in Italia Antonius, dabo operam. Sequar eum confestim. Utrumque me praestaturum spero, ne aut Ventidius elabatur aut Antonius in Italia moretur. In primis rogo te, ad hominem ventosissimum, Lepidum, mittas, ne bellum nobis redintegrare possit, Antonio sibi coniuncto. Nam de Pollione Asinio puto te perspicere, quid facturus sit. Multae et bonae et firmae sunt legiones Lepidi et
2 Asini. Neque haec idcirco tibi scribo, quod te non eadem animadvertere sciam, sed quod mihi persuasissimum est, Lepidum recte facturum numquam, si forte vobis de hoc dubium est. Plancum quoque confirmetis oro, quem spero, pulso Antonio, reipublicae non defuturum. Si se Alpes Antonius traiecerit, con-

[a] A town on the Aemilian Road, between Mutina and Parma, probably built by M. Aemilius Lepidus, consul in 187, who made the road; it is the modern Reggio.

[b] Pansa had died early on April 23, in Bononia.

[c] Hirtius and Pansa, both of whom had fallen. See the *Summary of the Cisalpine Campaign* at the beginning of Bk. x.

[d] For Ventidius Bassus see note on x. 18. 3. He was now bringing three legions to Antony from Picenum.

that in no respect am I failing, and at no time ever will fail, to further your advancement.

IX

D. BRUTUS TO CICERO

Regium Lepidi,[a] April 29, 43 B.C.

You must see for yourself what damage the Republic has suffered in the loss of Pansa.[b] It now lies with you to take measures, with all your influence and forethought, to prevent our enemies, now that the consuls have been removed,[c] from entertaining hopes of recovery. For my part, I shall do my best to make it impossible for Antony even to keep a footing in Italy; I shall pursue him at once. I hope to succeed in both of my objects—in preventing Ventidius[d] giving me the slip, and Antony staying on in Italy. First and foremost, I beg you to send a message to that weathercock of a fellow, Lepidus, to preclude the possibility of his resuscitating the war against us by getting Antony to join forces with him. As for Asinius Pollio I imagine you clearly foresee how he is likely to act. The legions of Lepidus and Asinius are numerous, efficient, and steady. 1

I am not writing thus to you under the idea that you do not observe all this for yourself, but because I am absolutely convinced (in case you and your friends have any doubt about him) that Lepidus will never act straightforwardly. There's Plancus too, whose resolution I implore you all to stiffen; I hope, now that Antony has been defeated, he will remain true to the Commonwealth. If Antony succeeds in 2

stitui praesidium in Alpibus collocare, et te de omni re facere certiorem. III. Kal. Mais, ex castris, Regio.

X

D. BRUTUS S. D. M. CICERONI

Dertonae, A.U.C. 711.

1 Non mihi rempublicam plus debere arbitror, quam me tibi. Gratiorem me esse in te posse, quam isti perversi sint in me, exploratum habes; si tamen hoc temporis videatur dici causa, malle me tuum iudicium, quam ex altera parte omnium istorum. Tu enim a certo sensu et vero iudicas de nobis; quod isti ne faciant, summa malevolentia et livore impediuntur. Interpellent me, quo minus honoratus sim, dum ne interpellent, quo minus respublica a me commode administrari possit. Quae quanto sit in periculo,
2 quam potero brevissime exponam. Primum omnium, quantam perturbationem rerum urbanarum afferat obitus consulum quantamque cupiditatem hominibus iniciat vacuitas, non te fugit. Satis me multa scripsisse, quae litteris commendari possint, arbitror.
3 Scio enim, cui scribam. Revertor nunc ad Antonium; qui ex fuga cum parvulam manum peditum haberet inermium, ergastula solvendo, omneque genus homi-

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[a] See note [a] on p. 450.
[b] About 34 miles north of Genoa.
[c] Men who habitually maligned D. Brutus, whom Cicero in *Ep.* 14. 2 calls Brutus's *obtrectatores*.

crossing the Alps, I have determined to set an outpost in the Alps, and inform you of whatever happens.

The Camp, Regium Lepidi,[a] April 29th.

X

THE SAME TO CICERO

Dertona,[b] May 5, 43 B.C.

I do not consider that the Republic owes more to me than I owe to you. You are well aware that my gratitude to you may easily be greater than that of my wrong-headed friends [c] to me; and although it should appear that I am only speaking thus under the pressure of the moment, even so you are well aware that I prefer your judgment to that of all those on the other side. For your judgment of me is based on an unequivocal and sincere sentiment, which those others are prevented from feeling by their intense malevolence and jealousy. Well, let them hinder me from being personally honoured, provided they do not hinder the possibility of my helpful administration of the Commonwealth; and what terrible danger that Commonwealth is in, I will explain as briefly as I can. 1

First of all, the utter chaos in the affairs of the City caused by the death of the consuls, and the eager cupidity aroused in the hearts of men by vacant places, cannot have escaped your notice. I think I have written quite as much as can be entrusted to a letter; for I know to whom I am writing. 2

I now return to Antony; although after his flight he had but a very small body of foot-soldiers, and those unarmed, still by liberating convicts and snatching 3

num arripiendo, satis magnum numerum videtur effecisse. Huc accessit manus Ventidi, quae trans Apenninum itinere facto difficillimo ad Vada pervenit, atque ibi se cum Antonio coniunxit. Est numerus veteranorum et armatorum satis frequens
4 cum Ventidio. Consilia Antoni haec sint necesse est: aut ad Lepidum ut se conferat, si recipitur; aut Apennino Alpibusque se teneat et decursionibus per equites, quos habet multos, vastet ea loca, in quae incurrerit; aut rursus se in Etruriam referat, quod ea pars Italiae sine exercitu est. Quod si me Caesar audisset atque Apenninum transisset, in tantas angustias Antonium compulissem, ut inopia potius, quam ferro conficeretur. Sed neque Caesari imperari potest, nec Caesar exercitui suo. Quod utrumque pessimum est. Cum haec talia sint, quo minus, quod ad me pertinebit, homines interpellent, ut supra scripsi, non impedio. Haec quemadmodum explicari possint, aut, a te cum explicabuntur, ne impediantur,
5 timeo. Alere iam milites non possum. Cum ad rempublicam liberandam accessi, HS mihi fuit quadringenties amplius. Tantum abest, ut meae rei familiaris liberum sit quidquam, ut omnes iam meos amicos aere alieno obstrinxerim. Septem nunc numerum legionum alo; qua difficultate, tu arbitrare. Non, si Varronis thesauros haberem, subsistere

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[a] Vada Sabatia, about 30 miles west of Genoa, on the coast.

[b] *i.e.*, 40,000,000 sesterces (*sestertii*).

up all sorts of men he appears to have made up quite a large force. To this has been added Ventidius's contingent, which after crossing the Apennines and accomplishing a most difficult march arrived at Vada,[a] and there affected a junction with Antony. There is quite a large number of veterans and armed men with Ventidius.

Antony's plans must necessarily be as follows: 4
either to march over to Lepidus, since Lepidus welcomes him, or to confine himself to the Apennines and Alps, and by means of cavalry raids (and he has plenty of cavalry) to devastate the districts he has invaded, or to retire again into Etruria, since in that part of Italy there is no army. But if only Caesar had listened to me and crossed the Apennines, I should have reduced Antony to such straits that he would have been ruined by starvation rather than by the sword. But there—neither can Caesar be controlled, nor can Caesar control his own army; and each of these facts is as deplorable as the other.

All this being so, I do not, as I have written above, interfere with men's hindering me so far as I am personally concerned. How these difficulties can be smoothed away I fear to think, or, even if they are smoothed away by you, I fear fresh obstacles will arise.

I can no longer afford to feed my men. When I 5
approached the task of liberating the Republic, I had a fund of over 40,000 sestertia.[b] So far is it from being the case that any of my private property is unencumbered, that I have already burdened all my friends with debt. I am just now supporting a force consisting of seven legions; with what difficulty you may imagine. Not even if I had the treasure of

sumptui possem. Cum primum de Antonio exploratum habuero, faciam te certiorem. Tu me amabis ita, si hoc idem me in te facere senseris. III. Non. Maias, ex castris, Dertona.

XI

D. BRUTUS IMP. COS. DES. S. D. M. CICERONI

In finibus Statiellensium, A.U.C. 711.

1 Eodem exemplo a te mihi litterae redditae sunt, quo pueri mei attulerunt. Tantum me tibi debere existimo, quantum persolvere difficile est. Scripsi tibi, quae hic gererentur. In itinere est Antonius; ad Lepidum proficiscitur; ne de Planco quidem spem adhuc abiecit, ut ex libellis eius animadverti, qui in me inciderunt; in quibus, quos ad Asinium, quos ad Lepidum, quos ad Plancum mitteret, scribebat. Ego tamen non habui ambiguum, et statim ad Plancum misi; et biduo ab Allobrogibus et totius Galliae lega-
2 tos exspecto, quos confirmatos domum remittam. Tu, quae istic opus erunt administrari, prospicies, ut ex tua voluntate reique publicae commodo fiant. Malevolentiae hominum in me, si poteris, occurres; si non

[a] Varro was not proverbially wealthy; Orelli therefore suggests that the reference may be to some wealthy character in one of Varro's *Satires*, now lost.

[b] The Statiellenses lived a little to the north-west of Genoa. Their chief town, Aquae Statiellorum, is still called Acqui.

Varro[a] could I possibly stand the expense. The moment I have any trustworthy information about Antony, I shall pass it on to you. You will, I am sure, continue to love me, but only if you feel that I love you to the same extent.

In camp, Dertona, May 5th.

XI

THE SAME TO CICERO

Territory of the Statiellenses,[b] May 6, 43 B.C.

A letter from you has been delivered to me which is 1
a duplicate of that brought by my servant. I consider that my debt to you is so great as to be difficult to discharge in full. I write to tell you what is being done here. Antony is on the march; he is making for Lepidus; he has not yet given up hope even as regards Plancus, as I observe in some note-books of his which have fallen into my hands, those in which he wrote the names of the men he was sending to Asinius, to Lepidus, and to Plancus. I, however, without a moment's hesitation sent to Plancus, and within two days I expect envoys from the Allobroges and the whole of Gaul, whose loyalty I shall strengthen, and send them back home.

If it be necessary to make any arrangements where 2
you are, you will be good enough to provide for their being made according to your wishes and to the advantage of the Republic. You will, if you find it possible, actively oppose the general ill-feeling against me. If you find it impossible, you will con-

potueris, hoc consolabere, quod me de statu meo nullis contumeliis deterrere possunt. Pridie Nonas Maias, ex castris, ex[1] finibus Statiellensium.

XII

M. CICERO S. D. BRUTO IMP. COS. DES.

Romae, A.U.C. 711.

1 Tres uno die a te accepi epistulas; unam brevem, quam Flacco Volumnio dederas; duas pleniores; quarum alteram tabellarius T. Vibi attulit, alteram ad me misit Lupus. Ex tuis litteris et ex Graecei oratione non modo non restinctum bellum, sed etiam inflammatum videtur. Non dubito autem, pro tua singulari prudentia, quin perspicias, si aliquid firmitatis nactus sit Antonius, omnia tua illa praeclara in rempublicam merita ad nihilum esse ventura. Ita enim Romam erat nuntiatum, ita persuasum omnibus, cum paucis inermis, perterritis metu, fracto animo,
2 fugisse Antonium. Qui si ita se habet, ut, quemadmodum audiebam de Graeceio, confligi cum eo sine periculo non possit, non ille mihi fugisse a Mutina videtur, sed locum belli gerendi mutasse. Itaque homines alii facti sunt; nonnulli etiam queruntur,

[1] *Inserted by Wesenberg.*

sole yourself with the reflection that by no amount of insult can they frighten me away from the position I now occupy.

In camp, in the territory of the Statiellenses, May 6.

XII

CICERO TO D. BRUTUS

Rome, between May 14 and 19, 43 B.C.

I have received three letters from you on the same 1
day, one a short one which you had handed to Flaccus Volumnius, and two in fuller terms, one of which was brought me by T. Vibius's letter-carrier, the other sent me by Lupus. It appears from your letter and from what Graeceius says, that the war, so far from having been stifled, has been set ablaze. Now I have no doubt that, with your extraordinary sagacity, you clearly see that, if Antony once succeeds in securing anything like a firm footing, all those distinguished services you have rendered the Republic are destined to end in nothing. "Distinguished services," I say, for the news that had reached Rome, and the universal conviction was that Antony had fled, yes, fled with a handful of unarmed, terror-stricken, and dispirited men.

But if his position is such that, as I am told by 2
Graeceius, a conflict with him without risk is impossible, then it seems to me that he did not flee from Mutina, but merely changed his ground for carrying on the war. Consequently there has been a general revulsion of feeling; some people even express their

quod persecuti non sitis. Opprimi potuisse, si celeritas adhibita esset, existimant. Omnino est hoc populi, maximeque nostri, in eo potissimum abuti libertate, per quem eam consecutus sit. Sed tamen providendum est, ne qua iusta querella esse possit. Res se sic habet. Is bellum confecerit, qui Antonium oppresserit. Hoc quam vim habeat, te existimare malo, quam me apertius scribere.

XIIIA

D. BRUTUS IMP. S. D. M. T. C.

Pollentiae, A.U.C. 711.

1 Iam non ago tibi gratias. Cui enim re vix referre possum, huic verbis non patitur res satisfieri. Attendere te volo, quae in manibus sunt. Qua enim prudentia es, nihil te fugiet, si meas litteras diligenter legeris. Sequi confestim Antonium his de causis, Cicero, non potui; eram sine equitibus, sine iumentis; Hirtium periisse nesciebam; Caesari non credebam prius, quam convenissem et collocutus essem. Hic
2 dies hoc modo abiit. Postero die mane a Pansa sum arcessitus Bononiam. Cum in itinere essem, nuntiatum mihi est eum mortuum esse. Recurri ad meas

disappointment that you and your army have failed to hunt him down. They think he could have been crushed, had you acted with expedition. It is, generally speaking, characteristic of a people, and of our people most of all, to abuse the privilege of free speech by preferably attacking the very man to whom they owe that privilege. But anyhow we must see to it that there should be no possible grounds for just complaint. This is how the matter stands; the man who has crushed Antony, will have finished the war. What that implies, I prefer you to calculate for yourself, rather than that I should write more openly.

XIIIA

D. BRUTUS TO CICERO

Pollentia, later than May 19, 43 B.C.

I have done with thanking you; for the nature of the case does not permit of the man, whom I can hardly requite in deeds, being satisfied with mere words. 1
I would have you attentively consider what I have on my hands; for such is your penetration, that nothing will escape your notice, if you read my letter carefully.

The reasons why I could not follow Antony immediately, Cicero, were as follows: I was without cavalry and without baggage-animals; I was unaware that Hirtius had fallen; and I was disinclined to trust Caesar until I had met him and conversed with him. And that is how that day passed away.

Early on the morrow I was summoned by Pansa to 2
Bononia. When I was on the march news was brought me that he had died. I hurried back to my paltry

copiolas. Sic enim vere eas appellare possum. Sunt extenuatissimae et inopia omnium rerum pessime acceptae. Biduo me Antonius antecessit; itinera fecit multo maiora fugiens, quam ego sequens. Ille enim iit passim, ego ordinatim. Quacumque iit, ergastula solvit, homines arripuit. Constitit nusquam prius, quam ad Vada venit, quem locum volo tibi esse notum. Iacet inter Apenninum et Alpes, im-
3 peditissimus ad iter faciendum. Cum abessem ab eo milia passuum triginta et se iam Ventidius coniunxisset, contio eius ad me est allata, in qua petere coepit a militibus, ut se trans Alpes sequerentur; sibi cum M. Lepido convenire. Succlamatum est, et frequenter a militibus Ventidianis (nam suos valde quam paucos habet), sibi aut in Italia pereundum esse aut vincendum; et orare coeperunt, ut Pollentiam iter facerent. Cum sustinere eos non posset, in
4 posterum diem iter suum contulit. Hac re mihi nuntiata, statim quinque cohortes Pollentiam praemisi, meumque iter eo contuli. Hora ante praesidium meum Pollentiam venit, quam Trebellius cum equitibus. Sane quam sum gavisus. In hoc enim victoriam puto consistere . . . . In spem venerant,[1] quod neque Planci quattuor legiones omnibus suis copiis pares

[1] *It is evident that this is the beginning of a separate letter, though both are run into one in the* MSS. *Tyrrell.*

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[a] See note on *Ep.* 10. 3.

[b] Pollenza, about 45 miles north-west of Vada.

[c] Tribune of the plebs in 48 and 47, an ardent supporter of Antony.

[d] It is now generally agreed that, as far as concerns Cicero, this is the end of the letter, and that what follows is the end of another letter addressed by Brutus and Plancus to the

little corps—for so I can truthfully term it. It is terribly thinned out and in the worst possible plight owing to a lack of everything needful. Antony had two days start of me; he made much longer marches, being in flight, than I in pursuit, for he marched in loose order, while I kept my ranks. Whatever road he took, he released prisoners from gaol, and swept up men. He never halted anywhere until he came to Vada,[a] a place I should like you to know about; it lies between the Apennines and the Alps, a spot most difficult to march to.

When I was thirty miles from him, and Ventidius 3
had already joined him, a public speech of his was reported to me, in which he began to entreat his men to follow him across the Alps, adding that he had an agreement with M. Lepidus. A murmur arose and most of those who murmured were the soldiers of Ventidius (for Antony has very few indeed of his own), to the effect that they were bound either to die or to conquer in Italy; and they began to implore him to let them march to Pollentia[b]; being unable to resist them, he put off his march until the following day.

On the receipt of that news, I immediately sent 4
five cohorts in advance to Pollentia, and directed my own march thither. My advanced guard reached Pollentia an hour before Trebellius[c] and his cavalry. I rejoiced exceedingly, for I consider that on this victory depends[d] . . . . [Their] hopes had been raised because they neither supposed that Plancus's four legions were a match for their united

Senate and magistrates from Cularo, about June 11. This view is corroborated by the consistent use of the plural—*nos*, *nobis*, *nostro*. The words omitted before "in spem venerant" were undoubtedly "Antonius et Lepidus."

arbitrabantur, neque ex Italia tam celeriter exercitum traici posse credebant. Quos ipsi adhuc satis arroganter Allobroges equitatusque omnis, qui eo praemissus erat a nobis, sustinebant, nostroque adventu sustineri facilius posse confidimus. Tamen, si quo etiam casu Isaram se traiecerint, ne quod detrimentum reipublicae iniungant, summa a nobis dabitur
5 opera. Vos magnum animum optimamque spem de summa republica habere volumus, cum et nos et exercitus nostros, singulari concordia coniunctos, ad omnia pro vobis videatis paratos. Sed tamen nihil de diligentia remittere debetis, dareque operam, ut quam paratissimi et ab exercitu reliquisque rebus pro vestra salute contra sceleratissimam conspirationem hostium confligamus; qui quidem eas copias, quas diu simulatione reipublicae comparabant, subito ad patriae periculum converterunt.

XIIIb

D. BRUTUS COS. DESIG. S. D. M. CICERONI

Parmae, A.U.C. 711.

Parmenses miserrimos . . . .

forces, nor believed that an army could be so rapidly thrown across from Italy.

So far the Allobroges by themselves, together with the cavalry which we had sent on in advance, have resisted the enemy quite contemptuously, and we are sure that our arrival will make their resistance easier. Nevertheless, should they even by any chance cross the Isara, we shall do our very utmost to prevent their inflicting any damage upon the State.

As for yourselves, we would have you keep a high 5
heart, and hope for the best, regarding the interests of the Commonwealth, since you see that both we and our armies, united as they are in uncommon harmony, are prepared to face every risk for your sakes. But for all that it is your duty to permit no relaxation of your vigilance, and to do all you can to ensure our being perfectly equipped both in troops and in every other respect to engage in a conflict in defence of your welfare against a most iniquitous conspiracy of public enemies—men who have suddenly transformed those forces, which they have so long been pretending to collect for the benefit of the State, into a danger to the land that bore them.

XIIIb

THE SAME TO CICERO

Camp at Parma, April 30, 43 B.C.

The inhabitants of Parma, poor wretches, . . . [a]

[a] These words, found in the Index to M, are all that remain of this letter, which probably described Antony's brutal treatment of the inhabitants a few days previously. *Cf. Parmam direptam* x. 33. 4 *ad fin.*

XIV

M. T. C. S. P. D. D. BRUTO IMP. COS. DES.

Romae, A.U.C. 711.

1 Mirabiliter, mi Brute, laetor, mea consilia measque sententias a te probari de decemviris, de ornando adolescente. Sed quid refert? Mihi crede, homini non glorioso; plane iam, Brute, frigeo; ὄργανον enim erat meum senatus; id est iam dissolutum. Tantam spem attulerat exploratae victoriae tua praeclara Mutina eruptio, fuga Antoni, conciso exercitu, ut omnium animi relaxati sint, meaeque illae vehementes contentiones tamquam σκιαμαχίαι esse vi-
2 deantur. Sed, ut ad rem redeam, legionem Martiam et Quartam negant, qui illas norunt, ulla condicione ad te posse perduci. Pecuniae, quam desideras, ratio potest haberi, eaque habebitur. De Bruto arcessendo Caesareque ad Italiae praesidium tenendo, valde tibi assentior. Sed, ut scribis, habes obtrectatores; quos equidem facillime sustineo; sed impediunt tamen.
3 Ex Africa legiones exspectantur. Sed bellum istic renatum mirantur homines. Nihil tam praeter spem

[a] This letter is evidently an answer to *Epp.* xi. 19, and x. 34.

[b] A committee of ten to investigate the acts of Antony during his consulship, and particularly his use of Caesar's *memoranda*.

[c] *Cf.* xi. 19. 1.

[d] "The republicans had appealed for aid to their officers commanding in Africa and Macedonia, and two African legions came to Rome, but subsequently went over to Octavian. M. Brutus, who disapproved of Cicero's alliance with Octavian, was also biased by his connexion with

XIV

CICERO TO D. BRUTUS[a]

Rome, end of May, 43 B.C.

You would be surprised, my dear Brutus, how 1
delighted I am that my plans and proposals as to the decemvirate[b] and doing honour to the young Caesar, meet with your approval. But what matters it? Believe me (and I am not given to talking big), I am now absolutely paralysed, Brutus; the tool I worked with was the Senate, and that tool is now in pieces. Your brilliant sally from Mutina, and the flight of Antony after his army had been cut to pieces, had brought us such high hopes of an assured victory, that we are all suffering from a nervous reaction, and those vehement harangues of mine seem mere phantom-fighting.

But, to return to business, those who know them 2
declare that in no circumstances whatever can the Martian[c] and the Fourth legion be brought over to you. As to the money of which you feel the lack, measures to raise it can be, and will be, taken. As to sending for Brutus,[d] and keeping Caesar to guard Italy, I heartily agree with you. But, as you write, you have your detractors; myself, I parry them with the utmost ease; but for all that they are a hindrance. We are expecting the legions from Africa.

But the recrudescence of the war where you are is a 3
matter of general surprise. Never was anything less

Lepidus (who had married his sister), so he turned a deaf ear to Cicero's advice and entreaties." W. W. How, Introd. v. § 17.

umquam. Nam die tuo natali victoria nuntiata, in multa saecula videbamus rempublicam liberatam. Novi timores retexunt superiora. Scripsisti autem ad me iis, quas Idibus Maiis dedisti, modo te accepisse a Planco litteras, non recipi Antonium a Lepido. Id si ita est, omnia faciliora ; sin aliter, magnum negotium, cuius exitum non extimesco ; tuae partes sunt. Ego plus, quam feci, facere non possum. Te tamen, id quod spero, omnium maximum et clarissimum videre cupio.

XV

M. T. C. S. P. D. D. BRUTO IMP. COS. DES.

Romae, A.U.C. 711.

1 Etsi mihi tuae litterae iucundissimae sunt, tamen iucundius fuit, quod in summa occupatione tua Planco collegae mandasti, ut te mihi per litteras excusaret ; quod fecit ille diligenter. Mihi autem nihil amabilius officio tuo et diligentia. Coniunctio tua cum collega concordiaque vestra, quae litteris communibus de-
2 clarata est, S. P. Q. R. gratissima accidit. Quod superest, perge, mi Brute, et iam non cum aliis, sed tecum ipse certa. Plura scribere non debeo, praesertim ad te, quo magistro brevitatis uti cogito.

[a] The defeat of Antony at Forum Gallorum on April 15th, and subsequently.

expected. For when the victory[a] was announced on your birthday we had a vista of an independent Republic for countless ages. These fresh fears unravel what has been woven. However, you wrote to me in the letter you sent me on May 15th that you had just received a letter from Plancus, saying that Antony was not being well received by Lepidus. If that is so, it makes everything easier ; if otherwise, it opens up a big business, the issue of which causes me no alarm ; *you* take the stage. Myself, I can do no more than I have done ; as for you, however, it is my desire, as it is my hope, to see you the greatest and most distinguished man on earth.

XV

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, end of June, 43 B.C.

Great as was the pleasure your letter gave me, I 1
was even more pleased with your having commissioned your colleague Plancus, engrossed with business as you were yourself, to make your apologies to me by letter, and he did so with every care. Nothing however stirs my affection more than your courtesy and the pains you take. Your union with your colleague and the harmony between you, which is made clear in your common despatch, is the most gratifying thing that has happened to the Senate and people of Rome.

As for what remains, press on, my dear Brutus, and 2
no longer rival others, but be your own rival. I ought not to write any more, especially to you, under whose tuition I intend to practise brevity. I look

Litteras tuas vehementer exspecto, et quidem tales, quales maxime opto.

XVI

M. T. C. S. P. D. D. BRUTO IMP. COS. DES.

Romae, A.U.C. 711.

1 Permagni interest, quo tibi haec tempore epistula reddita sit: utrum cum sollicitudinis aliquid haberes, an cum ab omni molestia vacuus esses. Itaque ei praecepi, quem ad te misi, ut tempus observaret epistulae tibi reddendae. Nam quemadmodum, coram qui ad nos intempestive adeunt, molesti saepe sunt, sic epistulae offendunt, non loco redditae. Si autem, ut spero, nihil te perturbat, nihil impedit, et ille, cui mandavi, satis scite et commode tempus ad te cepit adeundi, confido, me, quod velim, facile a te
2 impetraturum. L. Lamia praeturam petit. Hoc ego utor uno omnium plurimum. Magna vetustas, magna consuetudo intercedit; quodque plurimum valet, nihil mihi eius est familiaritate iucundius. Magno praeterea beneficio eius magnoque merito sum obligatus. Nam Clodianis temporibus, cum equestris

[a] L. Aelius Lamia vigorously defended Cicero in 58, and was therefore illegally banished from the City by the consuls Gabinius and Piso. In 54 he had returned to the Senate. In 48 he acted as mediator between Cicero and Antony, and in 45 was aedile. He is again mentioned in xii. 29. 2 and 3.

[b] Each *turma* of cavalry had six officers in command—3 *decuriones* and 3 *optiones* (adjutants); these were the *VI viri equitum Romanorum*. The first *decurio* of the first *turma* was called *princeps equitum Romanorum* (or *equestris ordinis*). Under the Empire he was called *princeps iuventutis*, and the post was generally held by the heir to the throne.

forward to a letter from you with intense eagerness, and such a letter too as I most earnestly desire.

XVI

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, May or June, 43 B.C.

The *time* at which this letter is put into your hands 1
is of paramount importance, whether it is when you have some anxiety on your mind, or when you are free from all annoyance. I have therefore instructed the person whom I have sent to you to watch his time for the delivery of the letter. You know that, just as in personal interviews those who approach us at an unfavourable moment are often an annoyance, so letters too are a cause of offence, if delivered inopportunely. If however (and I hope it is so), you have nothing to disturb, nothing to embarrass you, and my messenger has been clever and tactful enough in choosing the moment to approach you, I feel sure I shall have no difficulty in getting you to do what I desire.

L. Lamia[a] is a candidate for the praetorship. 2
There is no man living with whom I am on more intimate terms. There is a long-standing friendship and a close intimacy between us; and (what weighs most with me) nothing delights me more than my constant intercourse with him. Moreover, I am under an obligation to him for his great kindness and great good services. In the Clodian days, when he was head of the equestrian order[b] and was fighting

ordinis princeps esset proque mea salute acerrime propugnaret, a Gabinio consule relegatus est, quod ante id tempus civi Romano contigit nemini. Hoc cum populus Romanus meminerit, meipsum non
3 meminisse turpissimum est. Quapropter persuade tibi, mi Brute, me petere praeturam. Quamquam enim Lamia summo splendore, summa gratia est, magnificentissimo munere aedilicio, tamen, quasi ea ita non essent, ego suscepi totum negotium. Nunc, si me tanti facis, quanti certe facis, quando equitum centurias tenes, in quis regnas, mitte ad Lupum nostrum, ut is nobis eas centurias conficiat. Non tenebo te pluribus. Ponam in extremo, quod sentio. Nihil est, Brute, cum omnia a te exspectem, quod mihi gratius facere possis.

XVII

M. T. C. S. D. BRUTO IMP.

Romae, A.U.C. 711.

1 Lamia uno omnium familiarissime utor. Magna eius in me, non dico officia, sed merita, eaque sunt populo Romano notissima. Is magnificentissimo

[a] *Relegatio* did not involve, as *exsilium* did, the loss of civil status.

[b] This letter so closely resembles the preceding one (16) that it might be a duplicate of it (*binae eodem exemplo*), duplicates being often sent to increase the chances of delivery; or it may be that this was written first and 16 later, with special reference to Lupus.

with conspicuous gallantry in defence of my civil rights, he was banished[a] by the consul Gabinius—a thing which never before that time befell any Roman citizen. When the people of Rome remember this, it is highly discreditable that it should not be remembered by me.

For this reason persuade yourself, my dear Brutus, 3
that it is I who am candidate for the praetorship. For although he has to his credit the most distinguished position, a widespread popularity, and the very magnificent show he gave as aedile, for all that, just as though those claims did not exist, I have taken the whole business upon my shoulders. And now, if you value me as highly as I am sure you do, since you hold in your hand certain centuries of the equites, among whom you are king, send a message to our friend Lupus to secure those centuries for us. I shall not detain you with more words, but put at the end of my letter what is in my heart,—though there is nothing I do not expect of you, Brutus, you could do nothing that would give me greater pleasure.

XVII

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, May or June, 43 B.C.[b]

There is no man living with whom I am on more 1
friendly terms than Lamia. His good services to me, to say nothing of his acts of kindness, have been remarkable, and they are very well known to the people of Rome. Having discharged the functions of aedile

munere aedilitatis perfunctus petit praeturam, omnesque intellegunt nec dignitatem ei deesse nec gratiam. Sed is ambitus exstare videtur, ut ego omnia pertimescam, totamque petitionem Lamiae mihi sustinen-
2 dam putem. In ea re quantum me possis adiuvare, facile perspicio: nec vero, quantum mea causa velis, dubito. Velim igitur, mi Brute, tibi persuadeas, nihil me maiore studio a te petere, nihil te mihi gratius facere posse, quam si omnibus tuis opibus, omni studio Lamiam in petitione iuveris; quod ut facias, vehementer te rogo.

XVIII

M. T. C. S. D. BRUTO IMP. COS. DES.

Romae, A.U.C. 711.

1 Etsi ex mandatis, quae Galbae Volumnioque ad senatum dedisti, quid timendum suspicandumque putares, suspicabamur, tamen timidiora mandata videbantur, quam erat dignum tua populique Romani victoria. Senatus autem, mi Brute, fortis est et habet fortes duces. Itaque moleste ferebat se a te, quem omnium, quicumque fuissent, fortissimum iudicaret,
2 timidum atque ignavum iudicari. Etenim cum te incluso spem maximam omnes habuissent in tua

[a] x. 30. [b] A *legatus* of Galba.

with the utmost splendour, he is now a candidate for the praetorship, and everybody is aware that he lacks neither position nor popularity. But the canvassing in this case is of such exceptional consequence that I see danger in every direction, and I feel that I should myself undertake the whole responsibility of Lamia's candidature. How much you can help me in this 2
matter, I can easily discern; nor indeed have I any doubt of the amount of help you are willing to give for my sake. I should therefore like you, my dear Brutus, to convince yourself that I can make no more pressing request of you, and that you can do nothing more gratifying to me, than that you should help Lamia in his candidature with all your resources and all your enthusiasm; and that is what I earnestly beg of you to do.

XVIII

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, May 19, 43 B.C.

Although from the message you sent the Senate 1
through Galba[a] and Volumnius[b] we suspected what you thought was to be feared and suspected, still it struck us that the messages showed more fear than was worthy of the victory you and the Roman people had won. Now the senate, my dear Brutus, is full of courage and has courageous leaders; and so it felt annoyed that you, whom it judged to be the most courageous man that ever lived, should judge it to be timorous and unenterprising.

For seeing that during your investment everybody 2
had had the greatest confidence in your valour, and

virtute, florente Antonio, quis erat, qui quidquam timeret profligato illo, te liberato? Nec vero Lepidum timebamus. Quis enim esset, qui illum tam furiosum arbitraretur, ut, qui in maximo bello pacem velle se dixisset, is in optatissima pace bellum reipublicae indiceret? Nec dubito, quin tu plus provideas.
3 Sed tamen tam recenti gratulatione, quam tuo nomine ad omnia deorum templa fecimus, renovatio timoris magnam molestiam afferebat. Quare velim equidem, id quod spero, ut plane abiectus et fractus sit Antonius; sin aliquid virium forte collegerit, sentiet nec senatui consilium nec populo Romano virtutem deesse, nec reipublicae te vivo imperatorem. XIV. Kal. Iun.

XIX

D. BRUTUS S. P. D. M. T. C.

Vercellis, A.U.C. 711.

1 Ad senatum quas litteras misi, velim prius perlegas, et, si qua tibi videbuntur, commutes. Necessario me scripsisse ipse animadvertes; nam cum putarem Quartam et Martiam legiones mecum futuras, ut Druso Paulloque placuerat, vobis assentientibus,

[a] Chief town of the Libici in Cisalpine Gaul.
[b] See xiv. 2. These legions refused absolutely to serve under any of Caesar's murderers.
[c] Drusus, father of Livia Drusilla, wife of Augustus; Paullus, consul in 50.

that too when Antony was carrying all before him, who in the world could have any reason to fear when he had been put to flight, and you released?

Nor of Lepidus either had we any fear; for who could possibly imagine him to be so insane that, after saying in the midst of a terrible war that he was all for peace, he should yet in the midst of that most desirable peace declare war upon the Republic? And yet I doubt not that you have a deeper insight into affairs.

But anyhow when the thanksgivings, which we 3
celebrated in your name in all the temples of the gods, were still so recent, the renewal of alarm caused us no little annoyance.

It is therefore my wish, as it is my hope, that Antony has been utterly cast out and crushed; but if he succeeds in collecting anything of a force, he will find to his cost that neither does the Senate lack judgment, nor the Roman people valour, nor the Republic, as long as you are alive, a commander-in-chief.

XIX

D. BRUTUS TO CICERO

Vercellae,[a] May 21, 43 B.C.

I should like you first to read over the despatch I 1
have sent to the Senate, and if any alterations occur to you, to make them. You will yourself observe that I wrote under compulsion, for when I supposed that the Fourth legion and the Martians[b] would be on my side, according to the motion of Drusus and Paullus[c]

minus de reliquis rebus laborandum existimavi. Nunc vero, cum sim cum tironibus egentissimis, valde et meam et vestram vicem timeam necesse est.
2 Vicetini me et M. Brutum praecipue observant. His ne quam patiare iniuriam fieri in senatu vernarum causa, a te peto. Causam habent optimam, officium in rempublicam summum, genus hominum adversariorum seditiosum et inertissimum. XII. Kalend. Iun. Vercellis.

XX

D. BRUTUS IMP. COS. DES. S. D. M. T. C.

Eporediae, A.U.C. 117.

1 Quod pro me non facio, id pro te facere meus in te amor tuaque officia cogunt, ut timeam. Saepe enim mihi cum esset dictum, neque a me contemptum, novissime Labeo Segulius, homo sibi simillimus, narravit mihi apud Caesarem se fuisse multumque sermonem de te habitum esse; ipsum Caesarem nihil sane de te questum, nisi dictum quod diceret, te dixisse, laudandum adulescentem, ornandum, tollendum; se non esse commissurum, ut tolli possit. Hoc ego Labeonem credo illi rettulisse aut finxisse dictum,

[a] Inhabitants of Vicentia, now Vicenza. M. and D. Brutus were probably their *patroni*.

[b] Probably freedmen, who claimed their rights as such; but Brutus hastily terms them "born slaves."

[c] A town in Cisalpine Gaul, on the Duria, in the territory of the Salassi, now Ivrea.

[d] There is a play on the two meanings of *tollere*, "to raise aloft" and "to do away with, remove by death." I have to thank Dr. Page for "immortalized," which is better than Tyrrell's "exalted to the skies"; for, to a Roman, heaven was not up above, but down below.

which you all supported, I did not think it necessary to trouble myself so much about anything else. As it is, however, seeing that I am left with only the neediest of recruits, I have every reason to fear on my account as well as yours.

The Vicetini[a] are showing special deference to 2
M. Brutus and myself. I beg you not to allow these people to have any injustice done them in the Senate in the matter of the native slaves.[b] They have a very strong case, they are sincerely devoted to the Republic, and their opponents are a disorderly and thoroughly indolent class of men. Vercellae, May 21st.

XX

THE SAME TO CICERO

Eporedia,[c] May 24, 43 B.C.

What I do not do on my own account, my love for 1
you and your kind services to me compel me to do on yours,—and that is to fear. Though I had often been told the story, and had thought seriously of it, only the other day Labeo Segulius (and it is just like him) told me that he had been with Caesar, and there had been a deal of talk about you; that Caesar himself had made no complaint at all about you, except as to the remark which he said you had made "that the young man should be praised, honoured, and *immortalized*,"[d] adding that he had no intention of allowing himself to be made immortal. For my part, I believe that it was Labeo who reported the

non ab adulescente prolatum. Veteranos vero pessime loqui, volebat Labeo me credere, et tibi ab iis instare periculum ; maximeque indignari, quod in decemviris neque Caesar neque ego habiti essemus, atque omnia
2 ad vestrum arbitrium essent collata. Haec cum audissem et iam in itinere essem, committendum non putavi, prius ut Alpes transgrederer, quam, quid istic ageretur, scirem. Nam de tuo periculo, crede mihi, iactatione verborum et denuntiatione periculi sperare eos te pertimefacto, adulescente impulso, posse magna consequi praemia, et totam istam cantilenam ex hoc pendere, ut quam plurimum lucri faciant. Neque tamen non te cautum esse volo et insidias vitantem. Nihil enim tua mihi vita potest esse
3 iucundius neque carius. Illud vide, ne timendo magis timere cogare, et, quibus rebus potest occurri veteranis, occurras. Primum, quod desiderant de decemviris, facias ; deinde de praemiis, si tibi videtur, agros eorum militum, qui cum Antonio veterani fuerunt, his dandos censeas ab utrisque nobis ; de nummis, lente ac ratione habita pecuniae, senatum de ea re constituturum ; quattuor legionibus iis, quibus

[a] See § 1 *ad fin.*
[b] Apparently the Martian and Fourth legions which had deserted from Antony, and the two veteran legions which Octavius himself had raised.

remark to him, or made it up himself, and that it was not young Caesar who first brought it on the *tapis*.

As for the veterans, however, Labeo would have me believe that they are using the most shocking language, that danger threatens you from that quarter, and that the main reason of their indignation is that, as they say, neither Caesar nor I are to be found among the ten commissioners, and that you and your friends have been given a free hand in all respects.

When I had been told all this, and was already on 2
the march, I thought it a mistake to cross the Alps before I knew what was going on at Rome. As regards your own danger, take my word for it, what they hope is that, when you have been thoroughly frightened and the young man provoked to anger by their blustering language and threats of danger, they may possibly secure handsome rewards; and the whole object of circulating that jingle of yours is to line their own pockets as nicely as they can. But all the same I would not have you be imprudent, or run any risk of being entrapped, because nothing can possibly be sweeter or more precious to me than your life.

See to it that your fears do not force you to fear yet 3
more, and that you meet the wishes of the veterans in all respects in which they can be met ; first, do what they hanker for in the matter of the decemvirate ;[a] secondly, regarding the rewards, record your opinion, if you think fit to do so, that the lands of those veterans who were with Antony should be assigned by us both ; as to the pecuniary grants, assure them that the Senate, not hurriedly but after going into the whole question of the money, will definitely settle that matter. For the four legions,[b]

agros dandos censuistis, video facultatem fore ex agris Sullanis et agro Campano. Aequaliter aut sorte agros
4 legionibus assignari puto oportere. Haec me tibi scribere non prudentia mea hortatur, sed amor in te et cupiditas oti, quod sine te consistere non potest. Ego, nisi valde necesse fuerit, ex Italia non excedam. Legiones armo, paro; spero me non pessimum exercitum habiturum ad omnes casus et impetus hominum. De exercitu, quem Pansa habuit, legionem mihi Caesar non remittit. Ad has litteras statim mihi rescribe tuorumque aliquem mitte, si quid reconditum magis erit meque scire opus putaris. Vale. VIII. Kal. Iun. Eporedia.

XXI

M. T. C. S. D. D. BRUTO IMP. COS. DES.

Romae, A.U.C. 711.

1 Di isti Segulio malefaciant, homini nequissimo omnium, qui sunt, qui fuerunt, qui futuri sunt! Quid? tu illum tecum solum aut cum Caesare? qui neminem praetermiserit, quicum loqui potuerit, cui non eadem ista dixerit? Te tamen, mi Brute, sic amo, ut debeo, quod istud, quidquid esset, nugarum

[a] This letter is a reply to the preceding one.

to whom the Senate has voted that assignments should be made, I see that plenty of land will be available from the confiscations of Sulla and the Campanian territory. I think it is right that the lands should be assigned to the legions in equal portions or by drawing lots.

I am being urged to write to you thus not by any 4
consideration for my own interests, but by my affection for you and my eager desire for peace, which cannot possibly subsist without you. For myself, unless there be some pressing necessity, I shall not leave Italy. I am arming and getting ready my legions; I hope to have not the worst of armies to meet any contingency and any attack men can make upon me. Out of the army which Pansa had, Caesar refuses to send me back a single legion. Please write me a reply to this letter at once, and send one of your own men with it, if there is anything somewhat confidential which you think it necessary for me to know. Eporedia, May 24th.

XXI

CICERO TO D. BRUTUS [a]

Rome, June 4, 43 B.C.

Heaven's malison on that Segulius of yours, the 1
worst of all rogues, present, past, or future! What? Do you suppose that he only spoke about it to you, or to Caesar?—a fellow who could never have passed over a single person with whom he could converse, without retailing that same stuff? None the less, my dear Brutus, do I love you, as I am bound to do, for having wanted to apprise me of all that twaddle,

me scire voluisti. Signum enim magnum amoris
2 dedisti. Nam quod idem Segulius, veteranos queri, quod tu et Caesar in decemviris non essetis, utinam ne ego quidem essem! Quid enim molestius? Sed tamen, cum ego sensissem, de iis, qui exercitus haberent, sententiam ferri oportere, iidem illi, qui solent, reclamarunt. Itaque excepti etiam estis, me vehementer repugnante. Quocirca Segulium neglegamus, qui res novas quaerit, non quo veterem comederit, nullam enim habuit; sed hanc ipsam
3 recentem novam devoravit. Quod autem scribis te, quod pro te ipso non facias, id pro me, ut de me timeas aliquid, omni te, vir optime mihique carissime Brute, de me metu libero. Ego enim, quae provideri poterunt, non fallar in iis; quae cautionem non habebunt, de iis non ita valde laboro. Sim enim impudens, si plus postulem, quam homini a rerum
4 natura tribui potest. Quod mihi praecipis, ut caveam, ne timendo magis timere cogar, et sapienter et amicissime praecipis. Sed velim tibi persuadeas, cum te constet excellere hoc genere virtutis, ut numquam extimescas, numquam perturbere, me huic tuae virtuti proxime accedere. Quamobrem neque

[a] See the preceding letter, §§ 1 and 3.

[b] Cicero plays, somewhat heavily, on the *double entente* in *res novae* (revolution) and *res* (private property). The *res recens* is the savoury bit of gossip about the dissatisfaction of the veterans, and *nova* is suggestive of revolution.

whatever was in it. You have given me a signal proof of your affection.

As for what that same Segulius told you, that the veterans are complaining that you and Caesar are not on the decemvirate,[a] I only wish I were not, either. It is the greatest nuisance in the world. Anyhow, when I had expressed my opinion that a vote ought to be taken about the generals in command of armies, the same old gang who always do so shouted me down; you two were therefore definitely left out, in spite of my violent opposition. For that reason let us think no more of Segulius, who always has his eye on political changes of fortune—not that he has eaten up his own former fortune, for he never had any, but this same recent revolutionary tit-bit he has swallowed down at a gulp.[b] 2

You write, however, that you are doing for me what you would not do for yourself—that is, having some fear on my account; well, Brutus, most excellent of men and most dear to myself, I absolve you from all apprehension about me; for in what can be foreseen, I shall make no false step, and as for what will admit of no precautions, I do not worry myself so very much about that. For it were shameless of me to demand more than can be bestowed upon mortal man by nature. 3

Your advice to me to be on my guard against being forced by my fears to fear yet more, is the advice of a wise and very friendly man. But while all are agreed as to your pre-eminence in that particular form of fortitude which prevents your ever being afraid, or even disconcerted, I would have you convince yourself that I too approximate very nearly to that fortitude of yours; and for that reason, while dreading nothing, 4

metuam quidquam et cavebo omnia. Sed vide, ne tua
iam, mi Brute, culpa futura sit, si ego quidquam
timeam; tuis enim opibus et consulatu tuo, etiamsi
timidi essemus, tamen omnem timorem abiceremus;
praesertim cum persuasum omnibus esset mihique
5 maxime, a te nos unice diligi. Consiliis tuis, quae
scribis de quattuor legionibus deque agris assignandis
ab utrisque vestrum, vehementer assentior. Itaque
cum quidam de collegis nostris agrariam curationem
ligurirent, disturbavi rem totamque vobis integram
reservavi. Si quid erit occultius et, ut scribis, reconditum, meorum aliquem mittam, quo fidelius ad te litterae perferantur. Pridie Nonas Iunias.

XXII

M. T. C. S. P. D. D. BRUTO IMP.

Romae, A.U.C. 711.

1 Cum Appio Claudio, C. F., summa mihi necessitudo est, multis eius officiis et meis mutuis constituta. Peto a te maiorem in modum, vel humanitatis tuae vel mea causa, ut eum auctoritate tua, quae plurimum valet, conservatum velis. Volo te, cum fortissimus vir

[a] This Appius Claudius was the son of Gaius Clodius, governor of Asia in 55–54. The latter, on his return from Asia, had been condemned for extortion, but reinstated in his civil rights by Antony. His son, this Appius Claudius, vigorously prosecuted Milo, but Cicero, as his letter proves, bears him no grudge for that reason, and even exerts his influence on his behalf.

I shall be on my guard against everything. But you must see to it, my dear Brutus, that from now onwards, the blame may not be yours, if I have any fear at all. For even if we were inclined to fear, we should be enabled to cast away all fear thanks to your resources and your being consul, especially since everybody—and I most of all—is convinced of your exceptional regard for us.

As to the schemes proposed in your letter regard- 5
ing the four legions and the assignment of the lands by both of you, I heartily agree with them; so when certain of our colleagues were smacking their lips at the prospect of controlling the agrarian negotiations, I scattered the suggestion to the winds, and kept back the whole business so that you two might have *carte blanche* to deal with it.

If there be anything of a more secret nature, or (to quote your word) confidential, I shall send one of my own men, to ensure greater honesty in the delivery of the letter. June 4th.

XXII

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, July 6, 43 B.C.

I am on terms of the closest friendship, based on the 1
numerous good services we have done one another, with Appius Claudius, son of Gaius.[a] I beg of you with more earnestness than usual, whether because of your kindliness or for my own sake, to desire his reinstatement by your personal influence, which is paramount. I wish you, seeing that you are known to

cognitus sis, etiam clementissimum existimari. Magno tibi erit ornamento, nobilissimum adulescentem beneficio tuo esse salvum. Cuius quidem causa hoc melior debet esse, quod pietate adductus, propter patris restitutionem, se cum Antonio con-
2 iunxit. Quare etsi minus veram causam habebis, tamen vel probabilem aliquam poteris inducere. Nutus tuus potest hominem, summo loco natum, summo ingenio, summa virtute, officiosissimum praeterea et gratissimum, incolumem in civitate retinere. Quod ut facias, ita a te peto, ut maiore studio magisve ex animo petere non possim.

XXIII

D. BRUTUS S. P. D. M. T. C.

Eporediae, A.U.C. 711.

1 Nos hic valemus recte et, quo melius valeamus, operam dabimus. Lepidus commode de nobis sentire videtur. Omni timore deposito, debemus libere reipublicae consulere. Quod si omnia essent aliena, tamen tribus tantis exercitibus, propriis reipublicae, valentibus, magnum animum habere debebas, quem et semper habuisti, et nunc fortuna adiuvante augere

[a] See xi. 20 note *c*.

be the most gallant of men, to be also thought the most merciful. It will be a great feather in your cap that a youth of the highest birth should owe his restoration to your kindness. His case ought to be all the stronger, because it was a son's gratitude for his father's restoration that induced him to throw in his lot with Antony.

Although for that reason you cannot plead for him 2
as convincingly as you might, you can at any rate advance some plea or other that will not lack even plausibility. By a single nod you can maintain in the full rights of citizenship a man of the highest birth and of outstanding ability and merit, and one, moreover, of a most obliging disposition and full of gratitude.

This I so beg of you to do, that there is no request I could make with greater earnestness or more wholeheartedly.

XXIII

D. BRUTUS TO CICERO

Eporedia,[a] May 25, 43 B.C.

We are doing well here, and shall make every effort 1
to do better still. Lepidus's attitude towards us seems quite satisfactory. We ought to put away every fear, and consider the interests of the Republic like free men. Supposing every thing were against us, nevertheless, with three such armies entirely at the service of the Republic and in full strength, you ought to show that stout spirit which you have always shown, and which, now that fortune is befriending us, you can display to an even greater degree.

2 potes. Quae tibi superioribus litteris mea manu scripsi, terrendi tui causa homines loquuntur. Si frenum momorderis, peream, si te omnes, quot sunt, conantem loqui ferre poterunt. Ego, tibi ut antea scripsi, dum mihi a te litterae veniant, in Italia morabor. VII. Kal. Iun. Eporedia.

XXIV

M. CICERO S. D. BRUTO IMP. COS. DES.

Romae, A.U.C. 711.

1 Narro tibi: antea subirascebar brevitati tuarum litterarum, nunc mihi loquax esse videor; te igitur imitabor. Quam multa quam paucis! te recte valere, operamque dare, ut quotidie melius; Lepidum commode sentire; tribus exercitibus quidvis nos oportere confidere. Si timidus essem, tamen ista epistola mihi omnem metum abstersisses. Sed, ut mones, frenum momordi; etenim qui, te incluso, omnem spem habuerim in te, quid nunc putas? Cupio iam vigiliam meam, Brute, tibi tradere; sed ita, ut ne desim
2 constantiae meae. Quod scribis, in Italia te moraturum, dum tibi litterae meae veniant, si per hostem licet, non erraris; multa enim Romae; sin adventu

[a] *i.e.*, "if you defy them, and go your own way." *Cf.* Seneca, *Tranquill. an.* xv. 1 "mordeat frenos et rectorem rapiat suum," and Aesch. *P.V.* 1009,

δακὼν δὲ στόμιον ὡς νεοζυγὴς
πῶλος βιάζει καὶ πρὸς ἡνίας μάχει.

What I wrote to you with my own hand in my last 2
letter is only what people are saying with the object of intimidating you. If you take the bit between your teeth,[a] I'll stake my life that not one of the whole lot will be able to face you if you attempt to speak. As for me, as I wrote to you before, I shall stay on in Italy until I get a letter from you. May 25th, Eporedia.

XXIV

CICERO TO D. BRUTUS

Rome, June 6, 43 B.C.

A word in your ear—I have hitherto been a little 1
irritated by the shortness of your letters; now it seems to me that I talk too much, so I shall follow your example. What a lot in a little letter! "that you are doing well, and are making every effort to do better every day; that Lepidus's attitude is quite satisfactory; that it behoves us to have any amount of confidence in your three armies." Even if I were timorous, that letter of yours would have wiped away all fear from my heart. But, as you advise, I have taken the bit between my teeth. Indeed, seeing that during your investment I rested all my hopes upon you, what do you imagine I am doing now? Well, my present desire, Brutus, is to make over my spirit of watchfulness to you, though without prejudice to my own policy of firmness.

You write that you intend to stay on in Italy, until 2
you get a letter from me; well, if the enemy let you do so, you will be quite right, for there is ever so much going on at Rome; but if your arrival can bring the

tuo bellum confici potest, nihil tibi[1] sit antiquius. Pecunia expeditissima quae erat, tibi decreta est. Habes amantissimum Servium; nos non desumus. VIII. Idus Iunias.

XXV

M. T. C. S. P. D. D. BRUTO

Romae, A.U.C. 711.

1 Exspectanti mihi tuas quotidie litteras Lupus noster subito denuntiavit, ut ad te scriberem, si quid vellem. Ego autem, etsi, quid scriberem, non habebam (acta enim ad te mitti sciebam, inanem autem sermonem litterarum tibi iniucundum esse audiebam), brevitatem secutus sum te magistro. Scito igitur in
2 te et in collega spem omnem esse. De Bruto autem nihil adhuc certi; quem ego, quemadmodum praecipis, privatis litteris ad bellum commune vocare non desino. Qui utinam iam adesset! intestinum urbis malum, quod est non mediocre, minus timeremus. Sed quid ago? non imitor Λακωνισμόν tuum; altera iam pagella procedit. Vince, et vale. XIV. Kal. Quintiles.

[1] *Inserted by Tyrrell, following Wesenberg.*

[a] M. Brutus was still in Macedonia, and disinclined to return to Italy. *Cf.* note *d* on *Ep.* 14.

war to an end, you may take it as being of the first importance to you. All the money that was most readily available has been decreed to you. You have in Servius a most devoted friend, and I am always at your service. June 6th.

XXV

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, June 18, 43 B.C.

While I was daily awaiting a letter from you, our 1
friend Lupus suddenly and peremptorily informed me that, if I wanted to say anything, I was to write to you. Now although I did not know what to write (being aware that the Journal was being despatched to you, and being told on the other hand that you found no pleasure in the frivolous gossip of letters), I have put myself under your tuition and followed the path of brevity. I would have you know then that all our hopes lie in you and your colleague. As to M. 2
Brutus,[a] however, so far there is no certainty; I never cease calling upon him in my private correspondence, according to your directions, to take his part in everybody's war. I only wish he were here now! We should have less fear of the internal troubles in our city, and they are not inconsiderable.[b] But what am I doing? I am not imitating your laconic style; here is a second page now well on its way. Here's victory to you, and good health. June 18th.

[b] Manutius thinks he must be referring to the intrigues to secure the consulship for Octavian.

XXVI

D. BRUTUS IMP. S. P. D. M. T. C.

Ex castris, Cularonem iter faciens, A.U.C. 711.

In maximo meo dolore hoc solatio utor, quod intellegunt homines, non sine causa me timuisse ista, quae acciderunt. Deliberent, utrum traiciant legiones ex Africa necne, et ex Sardinia; et Brutum arcessant necne; et mihi stipendium dent, an decernant. Ad senatum litteras misi. Crede mihi, nisi ista omnia ita fiant, quemadmodum scribo, magnum nos omnes adituros periculum. Rogo te, videte, quibus hominibus negotium detis, qui ad me legiones adducant. Et fide opus est et celeritate. III. Non. Iun. ex castris.

XXVII

M. CICERO C. MATIO S.

Tusculi, A.U.C. 710.

1 Nondum satis constitui, molestiaene plus an voluptatis attulerit mihi Trebatius noster, homo cum

[a] Where he joined Plancus about June 12. This letter, showing how perturbed he was at hearing of the junction of Antony and Lepidus, is the last D. Brutus wrote to Cicero.

[b] No considerable force appears to have been stationed in Sardinia, but there must have been a small garrison there, and every available man was needed. Mendelssohn, however, suspects corruption in the text.

[c] C. Matius was born about 84 and died about 4 B.C. Little is known of him beyond what we can gather from this and the next letter. That Cicero thought him a most charming and erudite man is evident from his letter to their common friend Trebatius (vii. 15. 2). In March 49 Matius and Trebatius wrote Cicero a joint letter on the movements of Caesar. In his later years Matius composed a treatise on gastronomy. Prof. Palmer identifies him with the Catius of Hor. *Sat.* ii. 4.

In this letter Cicero has a double complaint to make of Matius, (i.) that he voted for the law about the provinces (see note *c* on p. 500), and (ii.) that he took charge of the games celebrated by Octavian in honour of the dead Caesar.

XXVI

D. BRUTUS TO CICERO

On the march to Cularo,[a] June 3, 43 B.C.

In my intense misery I find comfort in the fact that the world now sees that my past fears of what has now occurred were not groundless. Let the Senate fully discuss the question whether they are to bring the legions across from Africa or not—and from Sardinia[b] too; whether to send for M. Brutus or not; and whether to give me my men's pay at once, or decree its payment. I have sent a despatch to the Senate. Believe me, unless everything I have specified is done exactly according to my despatch, there is overwhelming danger in store for us all. I entreat you, be careful, all of you, to whom you assign the business of bringing me the legions. Loyalty and speed—there is need of both. In camp, June 3rd.

XXVII

CICERO TO C. MATIUS[c]

Tusculum, end of August, 44 B.C.

I have not yet quite made up my mind whether I am more annoyed or pleased with the visit of 1

plenus offici, tum utriusque nostrum amantissimus. Nam cum in Tusculanum vesperi venissem, postridie ille ad me, nondum satis firmo corpore cum esset, mane venit. Quem cum obiurgarem, quod parum valetudini parceret, tum ille, nihil sibi longius fuisse, quam ut me videret. Num quidnam, inquam, novi? Detulit ad me querellam tuam, de qua prius, quam
2 respondeo, pauca praeponam. Quantum memoria repetere praeterita possum, nemo est mihi te amicus antiquior. Sed vetustas habet aliquid commune cum multis, amor non habet. Dilexi te quo die cognovi, meque a te diligi iudicavi. Tuus deinde discessus, isque diuturnus, ambitio nostra et vitae dissimilitudo non est passa voluntates nostras consuetudine conglutinari. Tuum tamen erga me animum agnovi multis annis ante bellum civile, cum Caesar esset in Gallia. Quod enim vehementer mihi utile esse putabas nec inutile ipsi Caesari, perfecisti, ut ille me diligeret, coleret, haberet in suis. Multa praetereo, quae temporibus illis inter nos familiarissime dicta, scripta, communicata sint; graviora enim consecuta
3 sunt. Et initio belli civilis cum Brundisium versus ires

[a] Where Matius served and became acquainted with Trebatius.

our friend Trebatius, most obliging as he is, and devotedly attached to both of us. I only reached my Tusculum villa in the evening, and though he has not yet quite recovered his strength, he came to see me early the following day; and when I scolded him for not giving his health enough consideration, he replied that there was nothing he had been waiting for with greater impatience than the chance of seeing me. "Is there news of any kind?" I asked, and then he told me all about your grievance. Well, as to that, before I give you my answer, I shall state a few facts by way of preface.

As far as my memory enables me to retrace the 2
past, I have no friend of longer standing than yourself; but while the length of our friendship is something that many others can claim as well, the warmth of it is not so. I took to you the day I made your acquaintance, and I was convinced that you too took to me. Your subsequent departure, and that for a prolonged period, my own adoption of politics, and the dissimilarity of our careers, did not permit of our sympathies becoming cemented by familiarity of intercourse. For all that, I had reason to recognize your feeling towards myself many years before the Civil War, when Caesar was still in Gaul[a]; for you succeeded in bringing about what you were strongly of opinion was of advantage to me, and not without advantage even to Caesar—you gained me his special favour and respect, and a footing among his intimates. Many as were our very friendly conversations and the letters that passed between us in those days, I pass them over, since more serious events followed.

And at the beginning of the Civil War, when you 3

ad Caesarem, venisti ad me in Formianum. Primum hoc ipsum quanti, praesertim temporibus illis! Deinde oblitum me putas consili, sermonis, humanitatis tuae? quibus rebus interesse memini Trebatium. Nec vero sum oblitus litterarum tuarum, quas ad me misisti, cum Caesari obviam venisses in agro, ut
4 arbitror, Trebulano. Secutum illud tempus est, cum me ad Pompeium proficisci sive pudor meus coegit sive officium sive fortuna. Quod officium tuum, quod studium vel in absentem me vel in praesentes meos defuit? Quem porro omnes mei et mihi et sibi te amiciorem iudicaverunt? Veni Brundisium. Oblitumne me putas, qua celeritate, ut primum audieris, ad me Tarento advolaris? quae tua fuerit assessio, oratio, confirmatio animi mei, fracti communium
5 miseriarum metu? Tandem aliquando Romae esse coepimus. Quid defuit nostrae familiaritati? In maximis rebus quonam modo me gererem adversus Caesarem, usus tuo consilio sum, in reliquis officio; cui tu tribuisti, excepto Caesare, praeter me, ut domum ventitares horasque multas saepe suavissimo sermone consumeres? tum, cum etiam, si meministi,

[a] The date of this visit was March 19, 49 B.C.
[b] A little north of Capua.
[c] In 46. See vii. 3. 1.

were on your way towards Brundisium to visit[a] Caesar, you came to see me at my Formian villa. In the first place, how great was the significance of that in itself, especially at such a time! In the next place, do you imagine that I have forgotten your counsel, your conversation, and your kindness? And in all this I remember that Trebatius played his part. Nor indeed have I forgotten the letter you sent me when you had come to meet Caesar in the district, I think, of Trebula.[b]

Then followed that period when I set out on my way to Pompey,[c] whether it was a sense of honour that compelled me to do so, or my sense of duty, or if you like, a mere stroke of fortune. What single act of kindness or devotion did you leave undone, either to me in my absence, or to my people who were on the spot? Who was there indeed whom all my people deemed a better friend both to me and to themselves? I came to Brundisium. Do you suppose that I have forgotten the haste in which you winged your way to me from Tarentum, as soon as you heard of it? how you sat with me and talked to me, and encouraged my resolution, crushed as it was by the dread of universal wretchedness? 4

At last the time came when we began our lives at Rome. In what did our intimacy fall short of perfection? In matters of the highest importance I had the advantage of your advice as to how I should conduct myself towards Caesar, in all other respects of your kindness; apart from Caesar, was there any man, except myself, to whom you paid the compliment of constantly calling upon him and spending many an hour there in most delightful conversation? It was then too, if you remember, that you urged me 5

ut haec φιλοσοφούμενα scriberem, tu me impulisti. Post Caesaris reditum quid tibi maiori curae fuit, quam ut essem ego illi quam familiarissimus? quod
6 effeceras. Quorsum igitur haec oratio longior, quam putaram? Quia sum admiratus, te, qui haec nosse deberes, quidquam a me commissum, quod esset alienum nostra amicitia, credidisse. Nam praeter haec, quae commemoravi, quae testata sunt et illustria, habeo multa occultiora, quae vix verbis exsequi possum. Omnia me tua delectant, sed maxime maxima cum fides in amicitia, consilium, gravitas, constantia, tum lepos, humanitas, litterae.
7 Quapropter redeo nunc ad querellam. Ego te suffragium tulisse in illa lege primum non credidi; deinde, si credidissem, numquam id sine aliqua iusta causa existimarem te fecisse. Dignitas tua facit, ut animadvertatur, quidquid facias, malevolentia autem hominum, ut nonnulla durius, quam a te facta sint, proferantur. Ea tu si non audis, quid dicam, nescio; equidem, si quando audio, tam defendo, quam me scio a te contra iniquos meos solere defendi. Defensio autem est duplex: alia sunt, quae liquido negare soleam, ut de isto ipso suffragio; alia, quae defendam

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[a] The *Academica*, *De finibus*, and perhaps the *Tusc. Disp.* Tyrrell.
[b] *i.e.*, from Spain in 45.
[c] There is some doubt as to what law is meant; it was most probably that which gave Antony Gallia Cisalpina and the Macedonian legions, and perhaps part of Gallia Transalpina, in place of Macedonia, which was transferred to M. Brutus, but without an army. This law gave Antony so strong a military position that it provoked the fierce opposition of the constitutionalists, who regarded with suspicion anyone who supported it in the Senate. Matius must have voted for it in the interests of order, and in the circumstances he was right in doing so.

to write these philosophical treatises.[a] After Caesar's return,[b] what were you more anxious about than that I should be on the most intimate footing with him? and in that you immediately succeeded.

What then is the reason of all this rigmarole, 6
which I have kept up longer than I intended? It is because I was surprised that you, who ought to know all this, should ever have believed that I had been guilty of doing anything that would strike a false note in our friendship. For over and above the facts I have specified, facts that shine in the light of public testimony, I have in my mind many of a more confidential nature, which it is hardly possible for me to put into words. Everything that characterizes you is a delight to me, but most of all your extraordinary loyalty as a friend, your judgment, your gravity, and your consistency, as well as your brilliancy, refinement, and literary taste. So now I come back to your grievance.

As to your having voted in support of that notorious 7
law,[c] in the first place, I did not believe it; in the next place, if I had believed it, I should never imagine that you had done so without some good reason. While your high position makes all your actions the subject of public observation, the malevolence of the world puts a harsher interpretation upon some of them than is warranted by your conduct. If none of all this reaches your ear, I do not quite know what to say. For myself, if ever I hear anything, I defend you as stoutly as I know you are in the habit of defending me against my detractors. My defence, however, takes two forms; there are some things to which I always give a flat denial, as in the case of this very vote; there are others, which I should maintain were

a te pie fieri et humane, ut de curatione ludorum
8 Sed te, hominem doctissimum, non fugit, si Caesar rex fuerit, quod mihi quidem videtur, in utramque partem de tuo officio disputari posse, vel in eam, qua ego uti soleo, laudandam esse fidem et humanitatem tuam, qui amicum etiam mortuum diligas, vel in eam, qua nonnulli utuntur, libertatem patriae vitae amici anteponendam. Ex his sermonibus utinam essent delatae ad te disputationes meae! Illa vero duo, quae maxima sunt laudum tuarum, quis aut libentius, quam ego, commemorat, aut saepius? Te et non suscipiendi belli civilis gravissimum auctorem fuisse et moderandae victoriae; in quo, qui mihi non assentiretur, inveni neminem. Quare habeo gratiam Trebatio, familiari nostro, qui mihi dedit causam harum litterarum; quibus nisi credideris, me omnis offici et humanitatis expertem iudicaris; quo nec mihi gravius quidquam potest esse nec a te alienius.

XXVIII

C. MATIUS M. T. CICERONI S.

Romae, A.U.C. 710.

1 Magnam voluptatem ex tuis litteris cepi, quod, quam speraram atque optaram, habere te de me opi-

[a] The *Ludi Victoriae Caesaris* or *Veneris Genetricis*, vowed by Caesar at Pharsalia.

[b] In this remarkable letter, a literary and historical κτῆμα ἐς ἀεί, Matius reveals himself as a man of broad-minded charity, outstanding courage, and unswerving fidelity in friendship—an example of Roman *humanitas*, *virtus*, and *constantia*.

acts of dutiful devotion and kindliness on your part, such as your undertaking the management of the games.[a]

It must be obvious to so clever a man as yourself, 8
that if Caesar was a king (and that it seems to me he was), two opposite views may be taken of the morality of your attitude, either the one I generally take myself, that your loyalty and kindly feeling in showing your esteem for a friend even after his death is worthy of all praise, or the other, which some people take, that our country's freedom should be preferred to a friend's life. Out of all this talk I only wish my own arguments had been reported to you! But as for those two crowning distinctions of yours, who emphasizes them more whole-heartedly than I, or more frequently? I mean that you threw all the weight of your influence against beginning a civil war, and afterwards exerted it on the side of moderation in the hour of victory; and in this I have never found a single man to disagree with me. And that is why I feel grateful to our good friend Trebatius, who gave me a pretext for writing this letter; and if it does not convince you, you will be guilty of deeming me devoid of all loyalty and fine feeling; and nothing could be a heavier blow to me than that, or less consistent with yourself.

XXVIII

C. MATIUS TO CICERO[b]

Rome, end of August, 43 B.C.

Your letter gave me great pleasure, because I 1
recognized that your opinion of me was what I had

nionem, cognovi. De qua etsi non dubitabam, tamen, quia maximi aestimabam, ut incorrupta maneret, laborabam. Conscius autem mihi eram, nihil a me commissum esse, quod boni cuiusquam offenderet animum. Eo minus credebam, plurimis atque optimis artibus ornato tibi temere quidquam persuaderi potuisse, praesertim in quem mea propensa et perpetua fuisset atque esset benevolentia. Quod quando, ut volui, scio esse, respondebo criminibus, quibus tu pro me, ut par erat, tua singulari bonitate et amicitia

2 nostra, saepe restitisti. Nota enim mihi sunt, quae in me post Caesaris mortem contulerint. Vitio mihi dant, quod mortem hominis necessarii graviter fero, atque eum, quem dilexi, periisse indignor. Aiunt enim patriam amicitiae praeponendam esse, proinde ac si iam vicerint, obitum eius reipublicae fuisse utilem. Sed non agam astute. Fateor, me ad istum gradum sapientiae non pervenisse. Neque enim Caesarem in dissensione civili sum secutus; sed amicum, quamquam re offendebar, tamen non deserui: neque bellum umquam civile, aut etiam causam dissensionis probavi, quam etiam nascentem exstingui summe studui. Itaque in victoria hominis necessarii neque honoris neque pecuniae dulcedine sum captus, quibus praemiis reliqui, minus apud eum, quam ego,

hoped and prayed for. And although I was never in doubt as to that opinion, still, as I attached the highest possible value to it, I made every effort to maintain it unimpaired. But, conscious as I was of having done nothing that could hurt the feelings of any good citizen, I was the less inclined to believe that you, a man distinguished by so many admirable accomplishments, should have lent a ready ear to any allegation of the kind, especially considering how cordial and uninterrupted has been, and is, my attachment to you. And now that I know that all is as I wished, I shall reply to those charges which you have so often rebutted on my behalf, as was reasonably to be expected in view of your exceptional goodness of heart and the friendship between us.

I am well aware of the obloquy people have heaped 2
upon me since the death of Caesar. They put it down to my discredit that I am sorely grieved at the death of a very intimate friend, and resent the fall of one I loved; for they declare that patriotism must come before friendship, just as if they have already demonstrated that his death has been of benefit to the State. But I shall use no ingenious arguments; I frankly confess I have not reached their high level of philosophy. For neither was I a follower of Caesar in our civil dissensions, though at the same time I did not abandon a friend, however much I was offended by his action; nor did I ever give my approval to the civil war, or even to the cause of the quarrel, which I was most anxious to see stifled at its very birth. It follows that in the triumph of my personal friend I was not fascinated by the sweets of either promotion or pecuniary profit — prizes of which the others, though they had less influence with

quum possent, immoderate sunt abusi. Atque etiam res familiaris mea lege Caesaris deminuta est, cuius beneficio plerique, qui Caesaris morte laetantur, remanserunt in civitate. Civibus victis ut parceretur,
3 aeque ac pro mea salute laboravi. Possum igitur, qui omnes voluerim incolumes, eum, a quo id impetratum est, periisse non indignari, cum praesertim iidem homines illi et invidiae et exitio fuerint? Plecteris ergo, inquiunt, quando factum nostrum improbare audes. O superbiam inauditam! alios in facinore gloriari, aliis ne dolere quidem impunite licere! At haec etiam servis semper libera fuerunt, timerent, gauderent, dolerent suo potius, quam alterius arbitrio; quae nunc, ut quidem isti dictitant libertatis auctores,
4 metu nobis extorquere conantur. Sed nihil agunt. Nullius umquam periculi terroribus ab officio aut ab humanitate desciscam. Numquam enim honestam mortem fugiendam, saepe etiam oppetendam putavi. Sed quid mihi succensent, si id opto, ut poeniteat eos sui facti? Cupio enim Caesaris mortem omnibus esse acerbam. At debeo pro civili parte rempublicam velle salvam. Id quidem me cupere, nisi et ante acta

[a] Caesar's financial law of 49 B.C. provided for the payment of loans by the transference of property at a valuation (see note on ix. 16. 7), that of 47 remitted certain proportions of house and land rent in Rome and Italy. Matius, being an investor rather than a borrower, must have lost by both laws, to either of which he may be here referring.

him than I had, availed themselves with unrestrained avidity. I may also add that my own private estate was diminished by that very law of Caesar,[a] thanks to which the majority of those, who are now exulting over Caesar's death, were enabled to remain in the State. I strove that mercy should be shown to our defeated fellow-citizens as earnestly as I strove for my own life.

Is it possible then that I, who desired the security 3
of all, should feel no resentment at the fall of him from whom that boon was obtained, especially when the very same men were responsible at once for his unpopularity and his death? "You will smart for it then," they say, "since you dare to condemn what we have done." What unheard of insolence, that some men may boast of a crime, which others may not even deplore without being punished for it! Why, even slaves have always had this much freedom, that their fears, their joys, and their sorrows were subject to their own control, and not that of another; and now even those privileges they are trying to wrest from us by intimidation—that at any rate is what your "champions of liberty" are perpetually saying.

But they are beating the air, and for this reason 4
—there is no peril, the apprehension of which will ever induce me to desert the cause of duty or humanity; for never have I thought that an honourable death should be shirked, often that it should be even welcomed. But why this indignation against me, if my only wish is that they should regret what they have done? My desire is that all the world should feel the bitterness of Caesar's death. Ah but, as a loyal citizen, it is my duty to desire the safety of the constitution! Well, unless my past life, as

vita et reliqua mea spes, tacente me, probat, dicendo
5 vincere non postulo. Quare maiorem in modum te
rogo, ut rem potiorem oratione ducas, mihique, si sentis
expedire recte fieri, credas nullam communionem cum
improbis esse posse. An, quod adulescens praestiti,
cum etiam errare cum excusatione possem, id nunc
aetate praecipitata commutem, ac me ipse retexam?
Non faciam; neque, quod displiceat, committam,
praeterquam quod hominis mihi coniunctissimi ac viri
amplissimi doleo gravem casum. Quod si aliter essem
animatus, numquam, quod facerem, negarem, ne et in
peccando improbus et in dissimulando timidus ac
6 vanus existimarer. At ludos, quos Caesaris victoriae
Caesar adulescens fecit, curavi. At id ad privatum
officium, non ad statum reipublicae pertinet. Quod
tamen munus et hominis amicissimi memoriae atque
honoribus praestare, etiam mortui, debui et optimae
spei adulescenti ac dignissimo Caesare repetenti negare
7 non potui. Veni etiam consulis Antoni domum saepe
salutandi causa; ad quem, qui me parum patriae
amantem esse existimant, rogandi quidem aliquid, aut

well as my hopes for the future, prove without a word
of mine that such is my earnest wish, I make no
claim to demonstrate it by speechifying.

For that reason I beg of you with special earnestness 5
to attach more weight to facts than to words, and if
you feel that true expediency lies in right conduct,
to take my word for it that to hold any communion
with the lawless is impossible. Am I then, in the
evening of my life, to effect a radical change in the
principles I maintained in the heyday of my youth,
when even a serious error might have been excused,
and with my own hands unweave the texture of my
life? That I will not do, nor on the other hand make
the mistake of doing anything to cause offence, except
being pained at the grievous fall of one who was
very closely bound to me, and a most illustrious man.
But even if I were otherwise minded, I should never
disavow my own actions, and thereby get the reputation
of being a rogue in wrongdoing, and a coward
and hypocrite in concealing it.

Ah, but I undertook the management of the games 6
celebrated by the young Caesar, in honour of the
elder Caesar's victory! Well, that is a matter of
private obligation, and has nothing to do with the
constitution of the Republic; anyhow it was a duty
I was bound to perform as a tribute to the memory
and eminence of one very dear to me, even though
he was dead, and a favour I could not refuse, when he
claimed it, to a youth of such brilliant promise and
so entirely worthy of his namesake.

I have also often visited the house of Antony, the 7
consul, to pay my respects to him; but you will find
that those very men, who consider me lacking in
patriotism, are constantly going to him in crowds, with

auferendi causa, frequentes ventitare reperies. Sed quae haec est arrogantia, quod Caesar numquam interpellavit, quin, quibus vellem, atque etiam quos ipse non diligebat, tamen iis uterer, qui mihi amicum eripuerunt, carpendo me efficere conari, ne, quos
8 velim, diligam? Sed non vereor, ne aut meae vitae modestia parum valitura sit in posterum contra falsos rumores, aut ne etiam ii, qui me non amant propter meam in Caesarem constantiam, non malint mei, quam sui similes amicos habere. Mihi quidem si optata contingent, quod reliquum est vitae, in otio Rhodi degam; sin casus aliquis interpellarit, ita ero Romae, ut recte fieri semper cupiam. Trebatio nostro magnas ago gratias, quod tuum erga me animum simplicem atque amicum aperuit, et quod eum, quem semper libenter dilexi, quo magis iure colere atque observare deberem, fecit. Bene vale et me dilige.

XXIX

CICERO OPPIO S.

Anagniae, A.U.C. 710.

1 Dubitanti mihi, quod scit Atticus noster, de hoc toto consilio profectionis, quod in utramque partem

[a] Gaius Oppius, a Roman knight, may be called the "junior partner" of L. Cornelius Balbus, the Spaniard. He was also, as Balbus was, an intimate friend of C. Julius Caesar, whose life he is said to have written, and also the lives of Scipio Africanus, Marius, Cassius, and Pompey. It was believed in the second century that he had co-operated with Hirtius in writing treatises on the Alexandrian, African, and Spanish wars. This may be true as regards the Alexandrian wars, but the books on the two other wars were written by men of inferior literary powers, actually engaged in those campaigns.

the intention of asking him for something, or of carrying something away with them. But what arrogance is this, that whereas Caesar never put any restriction upon my associating with whomsoever I pleased, yes, even those for whom he had no liking himself, those who have robbed me of my friend should endeavour, by calumniating me, to prevent my choosing my own friends!

However, I am not afraid either that the sober self- 8
restraint of my life will fail, as time goes on, to triumph over the mendacity of gossip, or that even those who do not love me for my constancy to Caesar, will not prefer to have friends like me rather than like themselves.

If my prayers are granted me, I shall pass what remains to me of life in retirement at Rhodes; if any accident intervenes to prevent it, I shall live at Rome, but only as one whose lifelong desire is to maintain the right.

I heartily thank our friend Trebatius for having disclosed your frank and friendly feelings towards me, and also for having made it my duty with more reason than ever to respect and revere one whom it has ever been my pleasure to regard as a friend. A hearty farewell to you, and pray maintain your esteem for me.

XXIX

CICERO TO C. OPPIUS [a]

Anagnia, early in July, 44 B.C.

When I was in doubt, as our friend Atticus knows, 1
as to the whole policy of my departure, since many

in mentem multa veniebant, magnum pondus accessit ad tollendam dubitationem, iudicium et consilium tuum. Nam et scripsisti aperte, quid tibi videretur, et Atticus ad me sermonem tuum pertulit. Semper iudicavi in te et in capiendo consilio prudentiam summam esse, et in dando fidem, maximeque sum expertus, cum initio civilis belli per litteras te consuluissem, quid mihi faciendum esse censeres, eundumne ad Pompeium, an manendum in Italia. Suasisti, ut consulerem dignitati meae; ex quo, quid sentires, intellexi; et sum admiratus fidem tuam, et in consilio dando religionem; quod, cum aliud malle amicissimum tuum putares, antiquius tibi officium
2 meum, quam illius voluntas fuit. Equidem et ante hoc tempus te dilexi, et semper me a te diligi sensi. Et cum abessem atque in magnis periculis essem, et me absentem et meos praesentes a te cultos et defensos esse memini; et post meum reditum, quam familiariter mecum vixeris, quaeque ego de te et senserim et praedicarim, omnes, qui solent haec animadvertere, testes habemus. Gravissimum vero iudicium de mea fide et constantia fecisti, cum post mortem Caesaris totum te ad amicitiam meam contulisti. Quod tuum iudicium, nisi mea summa bene-

[a] It is evident from the end of § 1 that Oppius thought that Cicero's best policy was to join Pompey.
[b] C. Julius Caesar.

arguments for and against it kept occurring to me, a great weight was thrown into the balance to settle my doubt—I mean your judgment and advice. For not only did you give me your candid opinion by letter, but Atticus also reported to me your very words. I have always thought that your shrewdness in arriving at a decision is as consummate as your sincerity in communicating it; and of that I had a convincing experience, when at the outbreak of the civil war I consulted you by letter as to what you deemed it my duty to do—to join Pompey, or stay in Italy. Your recommendation was that I should consider my political position;[a] and that gave me a clue to what you really felt, and I admired both your sincerity and your conscientiousness in giving me that advice, because, although you thought your greatest friend[b] preferred another course, my duty stood higher in your estimation than your friend's preference.

Myself, I was drawn to you even before those days, 2
and always felt that you were drawn to me. Not only do I remember that, when I was far away and in the midst of great dangers, both I myself, absent as I was, and my people, who were on the spot, had the benefit of your courteous care and protection, but since my return also we have the testimony of all who make a practice of noting such things, on what intimate terms you have been with me, and what I have both felt and openly expressed about you. But the most impressive proof you gave of what you thought of my honesty and consistency was when, after the death of Caesar, you devoted yourself unreservedly to making a friend of me. And if ever I fail to justify your opinion of me by being the best of

volentia erga te omnibusque meritis comprobaro, ipse
3 me hominem non putabo. Tu, mi Oppi, conservabis amorem tuum (etsi more magis hoc quidem scribo, quam quo te admonendum putem), meaque omnia tuebere; quae tibi ne ignota essent, Attico mandavi; a me autem, quum paullum oti nacti erimus, uberiores litteras exspectato. Da operam, ut valeas; hoc mihi gratius facere nihil potes.

friends to you and rendering you every possible service, I shall deem myself devoid of humanity.

You, my dear Oppius, will, I know, maintain your 3
affection for me (though I write thus more from force of habit than because I think you need reminding), and keep an eye on my interests in all respects, and if you do not know what they are, I have instructed Atticus to tell you. In any case, as soon as I find a moment's leisure, you may expect a fuller letter from myself. Do your best to keep well; nothing you can do will give me greater pleasure than that.

M. TULLI CICERONIS EPISTULARUM AD FAMILIARES

LIBER DUODECIMUS

I

CICERO CASSIO S. D.

Pompeiis, A.U.C. 710.

1 Finem nullam facio, mihi crede, Cassi, de te et de Bruto nostro, id est de tota republica, cogitandi, cuius omnis spes in vobis est et in D. Bruto. Quam quidam iam habeo ipse meliorem, republica a Dolabella meo praeclarissime gesta. Manabat enim illud

[a] C. Cassius Longinus first distinguished himself as quaestor to Crassus in his Parthian campaign in 53 B.C. After the battle of Carrhae he prepared to defend Syria with what was left of the Roman army against the Parthians, whom he defeated in 52, and again in 51. Returning to Rome, he was tribune of the plebs in 49, joined the aristocratical party, and fled with Pompey from Rome. In 48 he commanded Pompey's fleet, and after Pharsalia fell in with Caesar on the Hellespont, and surrendered to him. He was not only pardoned by Caesar, but became praetor in 44, and was promised the province of Syria for 43. It was he, however, who was the ruling spirit in the conspiracy against Caesar's life. In July of 44 he went to Syria, though the Senate had now given that province to Dolabella; attacking and defeating him, and forcing him into suicide

CICERO'S LETTERS TO HIS FRIENDS

BOOK XII

I

CICERO TO CASSIUS [a]

Pompeii, May 3rd, 44 B.C.

Believe me, Cassius, I never come to an end of 1 thinking about you and our friend Brutus, in other words, about the whole Republic, every hope of which lies in you two, and in D. Brutus. I am myself more hopeful about it, now that it has been so brilliantly administered by my dear Dolabella.[b]

at Laodicea, Cassius thus avenged Dolabella's murder of Trebonius. After ruthlessly plundering Syria and Asia, Cassius crossed over to Greece with M. Brutus in 42 to oppose Octavian and Antony. At Philippi Cassius was defeated by Antony, while Brutus drove Octavian off the field; but Cassius, wrongly assuming that Brutus had also been defeated, commanded his freedman Pindarus to put him to death. His loss was bitterly lamented by Brutus, who called him "the last of the Romans."

Cassius, though little of a statesman, was a noteworthy military commander and strategist, though as much inferior to Antony as Antony was to Octavian. He was an Epicurean, and well versed in Greek and Roman literature. He was proud, passionate, and vindictive, and, above all, a relentless anti-monarchist.

[b] See ix. 14.

malum urbanum, et ita corroborabatur quotidie ut ego quidem et urbi et otio diffideram urbano. Sed ita seditio[1] compressa est, ut mihi videamur omne iam ad tempus ab illo dumtaxat sordidissimo periculo tuti futuri. Reliqua magna sunt et multa, sed posita omnia in vobis. Quamquam primum quidque explicemus. Nam, ut adhuc quidem actum est, non regno, sed rege liberati videmur. Interfecto enim rege, regios omnes nutus tuemur. Neque vero id solum, sed etiam, quae ipse ille, si viveret, non faceret, ea nos, quasi cogitata ab illo, probamus. Nec eius quidem rei finem video. Tabulae figuntur; immunitates dantur; pecuniae maximae discribuntur; exsules reducuntur; senatusconsulta falsa referuntur; ut tantummodo odium illud hominis impuri et servitutis dolor depulsus esse videatur, respublica iaceat in his perturbationibus, in quas eam ille con-

2 iecit. Haec omnia vobis sunt expedienda, nec hoc cogitandum, satis iam habere rempublicam a vobis. Habet illa quidem tantum, quantum numquam mihi in mentem venit optare; sed contenta non est, et, pro magnitudine et animi et benefici vestri, a vobis magna desiderat. Adhuc ulta suas iniurias est per vos interitu tyranni: nihil amplius. Ornamenta vero sua quae recuperavit? An, quod

[1] seditio *added by Purser.*

For that mischief in the city was spreading, and daily gaining such strength, that for my own part I began to despair of the city and the city's tranquillity. But sedition has been so well suppressed that it seems to me we are likely to be safe for all time, at any rate from that most degrading danger. Important things, and there are many of them, remain to be done, but they all rest with you three. However, let me discuss them in due order. As things have gone so far, it would seem that we have been delivered, not from a tyranny, but from a tyrant. For though we have slain the tyrant, we still watch that tyrant's every nod. Nay, not only that, but measures which he himself would not carry through were he alive, we approve, because we suppose that he contemplated them. And indeed I see no end to that sort of thing; decrees are posted up, exemptions are granted, huge sums of money are squandered, exiles are recalled, sham decrees of the Senate are registered [a]; so that it is only that hatred we had of an abominable character and our resentment at being slaves that we have got rid of, while the constitution lies prostrate amid all this confusion into which he plunged it.

It is for you three to clear away all these difficulties, 2
and not to imagine that you have already satisfied the claims the Republic has upon you. It is true that you have given her more than I ever thought of even praying for, but she is not content, and looks for great things at your hands, to match the greatness of your hearts and services. So far she has avenged her injuries by the death through your agency of a despot; nothing could be more splendid. But what glories that she once enjoyed has she recovered? Is it that she obeys him dead,

ei mortuo paret, quem vivum ferre non poterat? cuius aera refigere debebamus, eius etiam chirographa defendimus? "At enim ita decrevimus." Fecimus id quidem, temporibus cedentes, quae valent in republica plurimum; sed immoderate quidam et ingrate nostra facilitate abutuntur. Verum haec propediem et multa alia coram. Interim sic tibi persuadeas, mihi cum reipublicae, quam semper habui carissimam, tum amoris nostri causa, maximae curae esse tuam dignitatem. Da operam, ut valeas.

II

M. T. C. S. P. D. C. CASSIO

Romae, A.U.C. 710.

1 Vehementer laetor, tibi probari sententiam et orationem meam; qua si saepius uti liceret, nihil esset negoti libertatem et rempublicam reciperare. Sed homo amens et perditus multoque nequior, quam ille ipse, quem tu nequissimum occisum esse dixisti, caedis initium quaerit; nullamque aliam ob causam me auctorem fuisse Caesaris interficiendi criminatur, nisi ut in me veterani incitentur. Quod ego periculum non extimesco, modo vestri facti gloriam cum mea laude communicet. Ita nec Pisoni, qui in eum

[a] This decree, recognizing and sanctioning the *acta* of Caesar, was passed on March 17th at the meeting of the Senate in the Temple of Tellus, and probably confirmed by the people early in April.

[b] The First Philippic.

[c] Antony.

[d] Caesar.

whom she could not brook alive? Is it that we uphold the mere handwriting of one whose laws we ought to have torn down from the walls? But such, it may be argued, were the terms of the decree. Yes, we certainly passed that decree [a] as a concession to prevailing circumstances, which in politics are paramount; but certain persons are abusing our complaisance without restraint and without gratitude. But more of this at an early date, and of much else when we meet. Meanwhile convince yourself of this, that both in the interests of the Republic which has ever been most precious to me, and in the interests of our mutual affection, I have nothing more at heart than your position in the State. Do your best to keep well.

II

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, late in September, 44 B.C.

I am extremely delighted with your approval of 1
my opinion and speech [b]; were I allowed that privilege oftener, it would be no trouble at all to recover our freedom and constitutional rights. But that crazy and desperate fellow,[c] far more of a scoundrel too than he of whom you said "the prince of scoundrels has been slain," [d] is bent on starting a massacre, and accuses me of having instigated the assassination of Caesar, simply and solely with the object of inciting the veterans against me—a danger that has no terrors for me, provided only it adds to my reputation by giving it a share in the glory of your achievement.

primus invectus est nullo assentiente, nec mihi, qui idem tricesimo post die feci, nec P. Servilio, qui me est consecutus, tuto in senatum venire licet. Caedem enim gladiator quaerit eiusque initium a. d. XIII. Kalend. Octob. a me se facturum putavit. Ad quem paratus venerat, cum in villa Metelli complures dies commentatus esset! Quae autem in lustris et in vino commentatio potuit esse? Itaque omnibus est visus, ut ad te antea scripsi, vomere suo more, non
2 dicere. Quare, quod scribis, te confidere, auctoritate et eloquentia nostra aliquid profici posse, nonnihil, ut in tantis malis, est profectum. Intellegit enim populus Romanus tres esse consulares, qui, quia de republica bene senserint, libere locuti sint, tuto in senatum venire non possint. Nec est praeterea quod quidquam exspectes. Tuus enim necessarius affinitate nova delectatur. Itaque iam non est studiosus ludorum infinitoque fratris tui plausu dirumpitur. Alter item affinis novis commentariis Caesaris delenitus est. Sed haec tolerabilia; illud non ferendum, quod est, qui vestro anno filium suum consulem

[a] L. Calpurnius Piso, father-in-law of Caesar.
[b] P. Servilius had been consul in 48.
[c] Metellus Scipio was father-in-law of Pompey. He drowned himself after the battle of Thapsus. His villa at Tibur had been seized by Antony.
[d] *i.e.*, Piso, Servilius, and Cicero himself.
[e] M. Lepidus, who had married Junia, a half-sister of M. Brutus, while Cassius had married another. Both were daughters of D. Silanus, consul in 62, and Servilia. In writing to Cassius Cicero often refers to Lepidus as *tuus adfinis*.
[f] L. Cassius, who was probably cheered on account of his relationship to the Liberator, which gave Cicero satisfaction (*Att.* xiv. 2. 1).
[g] It is uncertain who is meant; some say Dolabella, others

Neither Piso,[a] therefore, who was the first to assail him without finding anybody to back him up, nor I, who did the same a month afterwards, nor P. Servilius,[b] who immediately followed us, are allowed to enter the Senate with safety. For the swordsman is bent on bloodshed, and imagined that he would make a beginning of it with me on the 19th of September, on which day he had turned up ready primed, after studying his speech for several days at the villa of Metellus.[c] But, I ask you, what sort of study was possible amid scenes of debauchery and drunkenness? So, as I wrote to you before, the universal impression was that (as is his habit), he spewed rather than spoke his speech.

As to your writing therefore that you are sure 2
some good can be done by my influence and eloquence, well, considering how great are our troubles, some good has been done. It has been brought home to the people of Rome that there are three ex-consuls,[d] who, because they have been patriotic towards the Republic, and have spoken freely, cannot enter the Senate with safety. Nor is there any reason for your expecting anything beyond this, since your relative[e] is delighted with his new marriage-connexion, so he no longer takes any very keen interest in the games, and is bursting with jealousy at the boundless applause given to your brother.[f] A second relative of yours[g] also has found soothing syrup in Caesar's fresh memoranda. All this, however, one can put up with; what is not endurable is that a man can be found to think that his son will be consul in the year that belongs to you and Brutus,

L. Aemilius Paullus, or C. Marcellus; and Bardt makes out a good case for L. Marcius Philippus, consul in 56.

futurum putet, ob eamque causam se huic latroni
3 deservire prae se ferat. Nam L. Cotta, familiaris meus, fatali quadam desperatione, ut ait, minus in senatum venit. L. Caesar, optimus et fortissimus civis, valetudine impeditur. Ser. Sulpicius, et summa auctoritate et optime sentiens, non adest. Reliquos, exceptis designatis, ignosce mihi, si non numero consulares. Habes auctores consili publici; qui numerus etiam bonis rebus exiguus esset,—quid censes perditis? Quare spes est omnis in vobis; qui si idcirco abestis, ut sitis in tuto, ne in vobis quidem. Sin aliquid dignum vestra gloria cogitatis, velim salvis nobis. Sin id minus, res tamen publica per vos brevi tempore ius suum reciperabit. Ego tuis neque desum neque deero. Qui sive ad me referent sive non, mea tibi tamen benevolentia fidesque praestabitur. Vale.

III

M. T. C. S. P. D. C. CASSIO

Romae, A.U.C. 710.

1 Auget tuus amicus furorem in dies; primum in

[a] Consul in 65.

[b] After the death of Julius he tried to mediate between Antony and the Senate. He was proscribed by the triumvirs and narrowly escaped death. Watson.

[c] He seems to have left Rome in May.

[d] Hirtius and Pansa.

[e] From here to "your agency" *you* is plural, *i.e.* "you and those co-operating with you."

[f] Antony.

and for that reason makes a parade of being our brigand's very humble servant.

As for my dear friend L. Cotta,[a] yielding to a sort 3
of irresistible despair (his own expression) he attends the Senate less regularly; L. Caesar,[b] most admirable and gallant of citizens, is prevented by ill-health; Servius Sulpicius,[c] a man of the greatest influence and soundest sentiments, is away from Rome. As for the rest, with the exception of the consuls-designate,[d] you must pardon me if I refuse to reckon them as consulars.

There you have the leaders of public policy; it would be an insignificant number, even if all were going well; what do you think of it in these days of despair? That is why our every hope lies in you[e]; and if your only object in keeping away is to be in a safe place, there is no hope even in you. If, however, you are meditating some scheme worthy of your glory, I should like to see it carried through while I am yet alive. But if that is not to be, none the less will the Republic speedily come to her own again through your agency. For myself, I never fail, and I never shall fail, to protect those dear to you; and whether they appeal to me for advice or whether they don't, I can in either case guarantee my love and loyalty to yourself. Farewell.

III

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, early in October, 44 B.C.

Your friend[f] gives more rein to his insanity every 1
day; to begin with, he has had the statue, which he

statua, quam posuit in rostris, inscripsit PARENTI OPTIME MERITO; ut non modo sicarii, sed iam etiam parricidae iudicemini; quid dico, iudicemini? iudicemur potius; vestri enim pulcherrimi facti ille furiosus me principem dicit fuisse. Utinam quidem fuissem! molestus nobis non esset. Sed hoc vestrum est; quod cum praeteriit, utinam haberem, quid vobis darem consili! Sed ne mihi quidem ipsi reperio, quid faciendum sit. Quid enim est, quod contra vim
2 sine vi fieri possit? Consilium omne autem hoc est illorum, ut mortem Caesaris persequantur. Itaque a. d. sext. Non. Octob. productus in contionem a Cannutio, turpissime ille quidem discessit; sed tamen ea dixit de conservatoribus patriae, quae dici deberent de proditoribus. De me quidem non dubitanter, quin omnia de meo consilio et vos fecissetis, et Cannutius faceret. Cetera cuiusmodi sint, ex hoc iudica, quod legato tuo viaticum eripuerunt. Quid eos interpretari putas, cum hoc faciunt? Ad hostem scilicet portari. O rem miseram! dominum ferre non potuimus; conservo servimus. Et tamen me quidem favente magis, quam sperante, etiam nunc residet spes in virtute tua. Sed ubi sunt copiae?

[a] A tribune, and a bitter enemy of Antony, whose hand he tried to force by making him speak at this public meeting.
[b] Cassius had *legati* as proconsul of Syria.

set up on the rostra, inscribed with the words "To the Father, for his glorious services," so that you are condemned not only as assassins, but now as parricides also. But why do I say "*you* are so condemned?" "*We* are condemned" is the better phrase; for that lunatic declares that I was the ringleader in that splendid achievement of yours. Would to heaven I had been! He would not now be troubling us. But for all that you are responsible; and now that it is past and done with, I only wish I knew what advice to give you. But I cannot ascertain what even I myself ought to do. For what can be done against force without force?

Now the whole trend of these men's policy is to 2
avenge the death of Caesar. Consequently on the 2nd of October, Antony was brought forward at a public meeting by Cannutius,[a] and though it is true he left the platform in sore disgrace, yet he referred to the saviours of the country in terms that should have been applied to traitors. As to myself indeed he had no hesitation in declaring that all you had done and Cannutius was doing was the result of my advice. Of the rest of their conduct you may judge from the fact that they have robbed your *legatus*[b] of his journey-money. What explanation do you suppose they offer when they do this? Why, if you please, that the money is being conveyed to an enemy of the State! What a pitiful state of affairs! We, who could not brook the master, are the slaves of a fellow-slave. And yet, though my wishes are stronger than my hopes, even now there is a residue of hope to be found in your fortitude. But our forces, where are they? As to what remains, I prefer that

De reliquo malo teipsum tecum loqui, quam nostra dicta cognoscere. Vale.

IV

M. T. C. S. P. D. C. CASSIO

Romae, A.U.C. 710.

1 Vellem Idibus Martiis me ad cenam invitasses; reliquiarum nihil fuisset. Nunc me reliquiae vestrae exercent, et quidem praeter ceteros me; quamquam egregios consules habemus, sed turpissimos consulares; senatum fortem, sed infimo quemque honore fortissimum. Populo vero nihil fortius, nihil melius, Italiaque universa. Nihil autem foedius Philippo et Pisone, legatis, nihil flagitiosius; qui cum essent missi, ut Antonio ex senatus sententia certas res nuntiarent, cum ille earum rerum nulli paruisset, ultro ab illo ad nos intolerabilia postulata retulerunt. Itaque ad nos concurritur; factique iam in re salutari

2 populares sumus. Sed tu quid ageres, quid acturus, ubi denique esses, nesciebam. Fama nuntiabat, te esse in Syria; auctor erat nemo. De Bruto, quo propius est, eo firmiora videntur esse, quae nuntiantur. Dolabella valde vituperabatur ab hominibus non

[a] Hirtius and Pansa.

[b] Who brought back impudent proposals from Antony. See Chronological Summary for the year.

[c] "By supporting, etc." For this rendering I have to thank Jeans.

you should consult your own heart, rather than listen to any words of mine.

IV

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, February 2nd (?), 43 B.C.

I should like you to have invited me to your banquet on the Ides of March; there would have been no leavings. Now it is just your leavings that are worrying me, me indeed more than anybody else; it is true that we have admirable consuls,[a] but the consulars are beneath contempt; we have a courageous Senate too, but it is those of the lowest rank who are most so. Nothing, however, could be braver or better than the people, and indeed the whole of Italy; nothing, on the other hand, more disgraceful, nothing more scandalous, than the conduct of Philippus and Piso as our emissaries.[b] They were sent to deliver to Antony certain definite instructions in accordance with the vote of the Senate, and when he failed to comply with any single one of them, they had the impudence to bring back certain insufferable demands from him to us. The result is that people are thronging round me, and for the first time, by supporting a really sound measure, I find myself a popular hero.[c] 1

But as for you, what you are doing, what you intend to do, or indeed where you are, I have no idea. The story goes that you are in Syria, but there is nobody to vouch for it. As to Brutus, the nearer he is, the more trustworthy appear to be the reports about him. Dolabella is soundly trounced by men with 2

insulsis, quod tibi tam cito succederet, cum tu vixdum triginta dies in Syria fuisses. Itaque constabat, eum recipi in Syriam non oportere. Summa laus et tua et Bruti est, quod exercitum praeter spem existimamini comparasse. Scriberem plura, si rem causamque nossem. Nunc quae scribo, scribo ex opinione hominum atque fama. Tuas litteras avide exspecto. Vale.

V

M. T. C. S. P. D. C. CASSIO

Romae, A.U.C. 710.

1 Hiemem credo adhuc prohibuisse, quo minus de te certum haberemus, quid ageres, maximeque ubi esses. Loquebantur omnes tamen (credo, quod volebant), in Syria te esse, habere copias. Id autem eo facilius credebatur, quia simile vero videbatur. Brutus quidem noster egregiam laudem est consecutus. Res enim tantas gessit tamque inopinatas, ut eae cum per se gratae essent, tum ornatiores propter celeritatem. Quod si tu ea tenes, quae putamus, magnis subsidiis fulta respublica est; a prima enim ora Graeciae usque ad Aegyptum optimorum civium imperiis muniti erimus et copiis.

[a] The point of the sarcasm is that Dolabella had not only encroached upon the thirty days' extension of office allowed to Cassius by the Lex Cornelia (iii. 6. 3), but had really deprived Cassius of a whole year's office, having never had any right to take up the province at all.

[b] *i.e.*, "the wish is father to the thought."

some command of sarcasm for being in such a hurry to take your place, though you had hardly been a month in Syria[a]; so that it was obvious to all that he had no right to be admitted into the province. Both you and Brutus are the subject of the highest encomiums, for having (as is believed) exceeded all expectations in getting together an army. I should write at greater length if I knew the circumstances of the case. As it is, what I write is only based on general opinion and hearsay. I am greedily awaiting a letter from you.

V

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, late in February, 43 B.C.

I suppose it is the wintry weather that has hitherto 1 prevented us from having any certain information about you—what you are doing, and most important of all, where you are. What everybody is saying however, I suppose because they wish it,[b] is that you are in Syria, and in command of forces. This is all the more readily believed because it seems so likely to be true. Our friend M. Brutus indeed has won extraordinary distinction; his achievements have been so substantial and so unexpected, that welcome as they are in themselves, their brilliancy has been enhanced by their rapid succession. Now if you also hold in your hand all we believe you do, the props that support the Republic are strong; since from the nearest point of Greece right up to Egypt we shall find security in governments and armies commanded by citizens of the highest loyalty.

2 Quamquam, nisi me fallebat, res se sic habebat, ut totius belli omne discrimen in D. Bruto positum videretur; qui si, ut sperabamus, erupisset Mutina, nihil belli reliquum fore videbatur. Parvis omnino iam copiis obsidebatur, quod magno praesidio Bononiam tenebat Antonius. Erat autem Claternae noster Hirtius, ad Forum Cornelium Caesar, uterque cum firmo exercitu; magnasque Romae Pansa copias ex delectu Italiae compararat. Hiems adhuc rem geri prohibuerat. Hirtius nihil nisi considerate, ut mihi crebris litteris significat, acturus videbatur. Praeter Bononiam, Regium Lepidi, Parmam, totam Galliam tenebamus, studiosissimam reipublicae. Tuos etiam clientes Transpadanos mirifice coniunctos cum causa habebamus. Erat firmissimus senatus, exceptis consularibus; ex quibus unus L. Caesar firmus est
3 et rectus. Ser. Sulpici morte magnum praesidium amisimus. Reliqui partim inertes, partim improbi; nonnulli invident eorum laudi, quos in republica probari vident. Populi vero Romani totiusque Italiae mira consensio est. Haec erant fere, quae tibi nota esse vellem. Nunc autem opto, ut ab istis Orientis partibus virtutis tuae lumen eluceat. Vale.

[a] Now Quaderna, about 10 miles S.E. of Bononia.
[b] Now Imola, some 13 miles S.E. of Claterna.
[c] A town of the Boii in Gallia Cisalpina.
[d] Who had died on the embassy to Antony.

And yet, if I am not mistaken, the present position 2
is such that the ultimate issue of the whole war depends apparently upon D. Brutus; if once he succeeds, as we hope he will, in breaking out of Mutina, it looks as if there would be nothing left of the war. In any case the forces investing him must by this time be inconsiderable, because the garrison with which Antony holds Bononia is a strong one. Again our friend Hirtius is at Claterna,[a] and Caesar at Forum Cornelium,[b] each of them with an army that can be trusted, while, at Rome, Pansa has collected strong forces by means of an Italian levy. So far winter has made active operations impossible. Hirtius, as he frequently hints to me in his letters, seems unlikely to do anything without careful consideration. With the exception of Bononia, Regium Lepidi,[c] and Parma, we can count upon the whole of Gaul as being enthusiastically loyal to the Republic. Your clients beyond the Padus too we find surprisingly in sympathy with our cause. The Senate is thoroughly staunch, except, of course, the consulars, of whom L. Caesar alone is as staunch as he is straight.

We have lost a powerful safeguard by the death of 3
Servius Sulpicius.[d] All the others lack either spirit or sound principle; not a few of them are jealous of the honour paid to those whom they see winning the approval of the state. On the other hand the unanimity of the people of Rome and of all Italy is something wonderful. This is practically all that I think you ought to know. And now my prayer is that the sunlight of your valour may shine forth from wherever you are in the East.

VI

M. T. C. S. P. D. C. CASSIO

Romae, A.U.C. 710.

1 Qui status rerum fuerit tum, cum has litteras dedi, scire poteris ex C. Titio Strabone, viro bono et optime de republica sentiente; nam quid dicam, cupidissimo tui, qui, domo et fortunis relictis, ad te potissimum profectus sit? Itaque eum tibi ne commendo quidem; adventus ipsius ad te satis eum commen-
2 dabit. Tu velim sic existimes tibique persuadeas, omne perfugium bonorum in te et Bruto esse positum, si, quod nolim, adversi quid evenerit. Res, cum haec scribebam, erat in extremum adducta discrimen. Brutus enim Mutinae vix iam sustinebat. Qui si conservatus erit, vicimus: sin (quod di omen avertant!) omnis omnium cursus est ad vos. Proinde fac animum tantum habeas tantumque apparatum, quanto opus est ad universam rempublicam reciperandam. Vale.

VII

M. T. C. S. P. D. C. CASSIO

Romae, A.U.C. 710.

1 Quanto studio dignitatem tuam et in senatu et ad populum defenderim, ex tuis te malo, quam ex me

[a] Not mentioned elsewhere.

[b] "You" is plural.

VI

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, late in March or early in April, 43 B.C.

What the state of affairs was when I sent you this 1
letter, you can find out from C. Titius Strabo,[a] a man of merit, and excellently well disposed to the Republic—I need not add most eager to join you, seeing that he has left his home and all that he possesses, to come to you rather than to anybody. So I do not so much as recommend him to you. His having made his way to you himself is recommendation enough.

I would have you consider and assure yourself 2
that if anything untoward happens, which I should deplore, the only refuge left for honest citizens is with you and Brutus. As I write these words, matters have come to the final crisis; for Brutus is now barely able to hold his own at Mutina. If he has come safe through it, we have triumphed; if otherwise (Heaven avert the omen!) there is but one direction in which we can all rush, and that is to you.[b] See to it, therefore, that you have all the courage and all the resources needful to win back the Republic in its entirety. Farewell.

VII

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, about March 6th, 43 B.C.

With what enthusiasm I defended your political 1
position, both in the Senate and before the people, I prefer that you should learn from your friends rather

cognoscere. Quae mea sententia in senatu facile valuisset, nisi Pansa vehementer obstitisset. Ea sententia dicta, productus sum in contionem a tribuno plebis M. Servilio. Dixi de te, quae potui, tanta contentione, quantum forum est, tanto clamore consensuque populi, ut nihil umquam simile viderim. Id velim mihi ignoscas, quod invita socru tua fecerim. Mulier timida verebatur, ne Pansae animus offenderetur. In contione quidem Pansa dixit matrem quoque tuam et fratrem illam a me sententiam noluisse dici. Sed haec non movebant; alia malebam. Favebam et reipublicae, cui semper favi, et dignitati ac gloriae
2 tuae. Quod autem et in senatu pluribus verbis disserui, et dixi in contione, in eo velim fidem meam liberes. Promisi enim et prope confirmavi, te non exspectasse nec exspectaturum decreta nostra, sed te ipsum tuo more rempublicam defensurum; et quamquam nihildum audieramus, nec ubi esses, nec quas copias haberes, tamen sic statuebam, omnes, quae in istis partibus essent opes copiaeque, tuas esse; per teque Asiam provinciam confidebam iam reipublicae reciperatam. Tu fac in augenda gloria te ipse vincas. Vale.

[a] A relative of Servilia, sister of Cato Uticensis, and mother of Cassius's wife (see note *e* on 2. 2 above). She is the mother-in-law mentioned below.

[b] It is not known who Cassius's mother was. His brother was the L. Cassius mentioned above (2. 2).

than from myself. And that proposal of mine in the Senate would easily have carried the day but for the violent opposition of Pansa. Having made the proposal, I was brought before a public meeting by the tribune of the plebs, M. Servilius.[a] I said all I could about you in a ringing voice that filled the forum, and the shouting and applause of the people was—well, I never saw anything like it! I hope you will forgive my having acted against the wishes of your mother-in-law. The lady is nervous, and was afraid of Pansa's taking umbrage at it. Indeed Pansa stated in the public meeting that your mother[b] also and brother had objected to my making that proposal. But all that left me unmoved; I had better things to think about. I was advocating the public cause, which I have always advocated, and your political position and prestige as well.

But as to the question I discussed at considerable 2
length in the Senate, and as to what I said at the public meeting, I should be glad if you would redeem the pledge I gave. I promised and almost positively asserted that you had not waited for nor would wait for any decrees of ours, but would yourself defend the constitution in your own good way; and although we have not yet heard anything as to your present position, or the forces at your disposal, for all that I take my stand on the fact that all the forces and troops in your part of the world are yours, and that it is through you I am assured that the province of Asia has already been won back for the Republic. Do your utmost to surpass yourself in enhancing your own glory. Farewell.

VIII

M. T. C. S. P. D. C. CASSIO

Romae, A.U.C. 711.

1 Scelus affinis tui Lepidi summamque levitatem et inconstantiam ex actis, quae ad te mitti certo scio, cognosse te arbitror. Itaque nos, confecto bello, ut arbitrabamur, renovatum bellum gerimus; spemque omnem in D. Bruto et Planco habemus; si verum quaeris, in te et in meo Bruto, non solum ad praesens perfugium, si, quod nolim, adversi quid acciderit, sed
2 etiam ad confirmationem perpetuae libertatis. Nos hic de Dolabella audiebamus, quae vellemus; sed certos auctores non habebamus. Te quidem magnum hominem et praesenti iudicio et reliqui temporis exspectatione scito esse. Hoc tibi proposito, fac ut ad summa contendas. Nihil est tantum, quod non populus Romanus a te perfici atque obtineri posse iudicet. Vale.

IX

M. T. C. S. P. D. C. CASSIO

Romae, A.U.C. 711.

1 Brevitas tuarum litterarum me quoque breviorem in scribendo facit; et, vere ut dicam, non satis

[a] See note *e* on 2. 2.

[b] The *Acta Diurna*, the "Daily Gazette" (our "Times"), first published in the first consulship of Caesar (59), reported the proceedings of the Senate, births and deaths, and any important occurrences. The *Acta*, after official publication, were copied by scribes, who sold them to the wealthy, especially in the provinces. *Cf.* viii. 1. 2. Tyrrell.

VIII

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, shortly after June 8th, 43 B.C.

The scandalous conduct of your relative[a] Lepidus 1
and his amazing fickleness and inconstancy I imagine you have already learnt from the daily gazette[b] which I am assured is being sent to you. So now, when the war, as we imagined, had been finished, we are waging a resuscitated war, and we have no other hope than in D. Brutus and Plancus; indeed, if you want the exact truth, than in you and my friend M. Brutus, not only to serve as our immediate refuge, should anything untoward occur (which I should deplore), but also to set on a firm basis a freedom that will last for ever.

We are having satisfactory news here about Dolabella, but we have nobody definitely to vouch for it. As for you, I would have you know that you are a great man here, not only in men's present estimation, but also in their anticipations of your future. With this before your eyes, see to it that your aims are of the highest. There is no success so great that the people of Rome do not deem you capable of achieving, yes, and of maintaining.

IX

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, middle of June, 43 B.C.

The shortness of your letters makes me too write 1
shorter ones; and, to tell you the truth, I have no

occurrit, quid scribam. Nostras enim res in actis perferri ad te certo scio; tuas autem ignoramus. Tamquam enim clausa sit Asia, sic nihil perfertur ad nos praeter rumores de oppresso Dolabella, satis illos
2 quidem constantes, sed adhuc sine auctore. Nos, confectum bellum cum putaremus, repente a Lepido tuo in summam sollicitudinem adducti sumus. Itaque persuade tibi, maximam reipublicae spem in te et in tuis copiis esse. Firmos omnino exercitus habemus; sed tamen, ut omnia, ut spero, prospere procedant, multum interest te venire. Exigua enim spes est reipublicae: nam nullam non libet dicere: sed, quaecumque est, ea despondetur anno consulatus tui. Vale.

X

M. T. C S. P. D. C. CASSIO

Romae, A.U.C. 711.

1 Lepidus, tuus affinis, meus familiaris, pridie Kal. Quintiles sententiis omnibus hostis a senatu iudicatus est ceterique, qui una cum illo a republica defecerunt; quibus tamen ad sanitatem redeundi ante Kal. Septemb. potestas facta est. Fortis sane senatus, sed maxime spe subsidi tui. Bellum quidem, cum haec scribebam, sane magnum erat, scelere et levitate

[a] See note *e* on 2. 2.

clear conception as to what I am to write. Our affairs, as I am well aware, are duly reported to you in the daily gazette, while we know nothing of yours. Just as though Asia were under a blockade, nothing reaches us except rumours about the crushing of Dolabella, which are certainly quite consistent, but lack authority.

We imagined that the war was finished, but all of 2
a sudden we have been thrown into an agony of anxiety by your friend Lepidus. You must, therefore, convince yourself that the best hope of the Republic lies in you and your forces. Our armies of course we can trust; but though everything should go on happily (and I hope everything will), even so it is of great importance that you should come here. There are but faint hopes of a constitution (I shrink from saying there are none), but whatever they are, they are bound, as by betrothal, to the year of your consulship.

X

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, early in July, 43 B.C.

On the 30th of June your relative,[a] and my once 1
friend, Lepidus, was declared a public enemy by an unanimous vote of the Senate, as were also all the others who joined him in deserting the Republic; the latter, however, have been given the opportunity of returning to their senses before the 1st of September. The Senate is full of courage, but it is mainly based on the expectation of your support. As I write these words, thanks to the villainy and

Lepidi. Nos de Dolabella quotidie, quae volumus, audimus; sed adhuc sine capite, sine auctore,
2 rumore nuntio. Quod cum ita esset, tamen litteris tuis, quas Nonis Maiis ex castris datas acceperamus, ita persuasum erat civitati, ut illum iam oppressum omnes arbitrarentur, te autem in Italiam venire cum exercitu; ut, si haec ex sententia confecta essent, consilio atque auctoritate tua, sin quid forte titubatum, ut fit in bello, exercitu tuo niteremur. Quem quidem ego exercitum, quibuscumque potero rebus, ornabo, cuius rei tum tempus erit, cum, quid opis reipublicae laturus is exercitus sit, aut quid iam tulerit, notum esse coeperit. Nam adhuc tantum conatus audiuntur, optimi illi quidem et praeclarissimi, sed gesta res exspectatur; quam quidem aut iam esse
3 aliquam aut appropinquare confido. Tua virtute et magnitudine animi nihil est nobilius. Itaque optamus, ut quam primum te in Italia videamus. Rempublicam nos habere arbitrabimur, si vos habebimus. Praeclare viceramus, nisi spoliatum, inermem, fugientem Lepidus recepisset Antonium. Itaque numquam tanto odio civitati Antonius fuit, quanto est Lepidus. Ille enim ex turbulenta republica, hic ex pace et victoria bellum excitavit. Huic oppositos consules designatos habemus, in quibus est magna

shiftiness of Lepidus, the war is really serious. The daily news about Dolabella is all we could desire; but it is still without a definite source, unvouched for, and only voiced by rumour.

But, notwithstanding all that, your despatch, sent 2
from your camp and received by us on the 7th of May, had the effect upon the State of making everybody believe that he had already been crushed, but that you were coming to Italy with your army; so that, if all were accomplished to our satisfaction, we should have your counsel and influence, but if, as so often happens in war, some slip should by any chance occur, we should have your army, to fall back upon. And, speaking of the army, I shall make all honourable provision for it within my power, but it will be time enough for that when we begin to get some idea of the amount of help it intends giving the Republic, or how much it has already given. For so far we hear of nothing but attempts—noble and splendid enough I grant you—but what we are waiting for is achievement; and that I am confident has either come to pass in good measure already, or will in the near future.

Nothing can be more noble than your courage and 3
greatness of spirit. So naturally we hope to see you in Italy as soon as possible. If we have both of you, we shall think we have the Republic here too. We had won a glorious victory, were it not that Antony, stripped and unarmed and a fugitive as he was, had been given refuge by Lepidus. It follows that never was Antony so detested by the State as Lepidus now is. For the former applied the torch of war to universal public disorder, the latter to peace and victory. To oppose him we have the consuls-

illa quidem spes, sed anceps cura propter incertos
4 exitus praeliorum. Persuade tibi igitur, in te et in Bruto tuo esse omnia, vos exspectari, Brutum quidem iam iamque. Quod si, ut spero, victis hostibus nostris veneritis, tamen auctoritate vestra respublica exsurget et in aliquo statu tolerabili consistet. Sunt enim permulta, quibus erit medendum, etiamsi respublica satis esse videbitur sceleribus hostium liberata. Vale.

XI

C. CASSIUS PROCOS. S. P. D. M. T. C.

In castris Taricheis, A.U.C. 711.

1 S.v.b.e.e.q.v. In Syriam me profectum esse scito ad L. Murcum et Q. Crispum imperatores. Viri fortes optimique cives, posteaquam audierunt, quae Romae gererentur, exercitus mihi tradiderunt, ipsique mecum una fortissimo animo rempublicam administrant. Item legionem, quam Q. Caecilius Bassus habuit, ad me venisse scito; quattuorque legiones, quas A. Allienus ex Aegypto eduxit, traditas ab eo
2 mihi esse scito. Nunc te cohortatione non puto indigere, ut nos absentes remque publicam, quantum

[a] Brutus never came, but went to Asia.
[b] In Galilee, at the south end of the Lake of Tiberias.
[c] s.v.b.e.e.q.v. = si vales, bene est; ego quoque valeo.
[d] L. Staius Murcus had been sent by Julius Caesar with three legions to oppose Q. Caecilius Bassus, who, assisted by the Parthians, had raised a revolt in Syria.
[e] Q. Marcius Crispus, governor of Bithynia, had come to Syria with another three legions to assist Murcus.
[f] A *legatus* of Dolabella.

designate, and we have strong hopes of them, it is true; but there is the anxiety of doubt, owing to the uncertainty of issues on the field.

Be absolutely assured, therefore, that all depends 4
upon you and your friend Brutus, that you are both expected—Brutus indeed at any moment.[a] But if our enemies are defeated (and I hope so) before you arrive, even so your influence will help the Republic to lift up her head, and be established on some tolerably firm basis. For the ills to be remedied are very many, even though it may appear that the Republic has been safely delivered from the iniquity of her enemies.

XI

CASSIUS TO CICERO

Camp at Tarichea,[b] March 7th, 43 B.C.

If you are well, all is right; I too am well.[c] You 1
must know that I have started for Syria to join L. Murcus[d] and Q. Crispus,[e] commanders-in-chief. When those gallant officers and admirable citizens heard what was going on in Rome, they handed their armies over to me, and are themselves administering the affairs of the State side by side with me, and with the utmost resolution. I beg to inform you also that the legion which Q. Caecilius Bassus[d] had, has come over to me, and I beg to inform you that the four legions A. Allienus[f] brought out of Egypt have been handed over by him to me.

For the present I do not suppose there is any need 2
of my exhorting you to defend us while we are away, and the Republic too, as far as in you lies. I should

est in te, defendas. Scire te volo, firma praesidia vobis senatuique non deesse, ut optima spe et maximo animo rempublicam defendas. Reliqua tecum aget L. Carteius, familiaris meus. Vale. Data Nonis Martiis, ex castris Taricheis.

XII

CASSIUS PROCOS. S. D. M. CICERONI SUO

In castris in Syria, A.U.C. 711.

1 S.v.b.e.e.q.v. Legi tuas litteras, in quibus mirificum tuum erga me amorem recognovi. Videbaris enim non solum favere nobis (id quod et nostri et reipublicae causa semper fecisti), sed etiam gravem curam suscepisse vehementerque esse de nobis sollicitus. Itaque, quod te primum existimare putabam, nos, oppressa republica, quiescere non posse, deinde, cum suspicarere nos moliri, quod te sollicitum esse et de salute nostra et de rerum eventu putabam, simul ac legiones accepi, quas A. Allienus eduxerat ex Aegypto, scripsi ad te tabellariosque complures Romam misi. Scripsi etiam ad senatum litteras, quas reddi vetui prius, quam tibi recitatae

[a] s.v.b.e.e.q.v. = si vales, bene est; ego quoque valeo.
[b] See note *f* to the preceding letter.
[c] A frequent precaution to ensure the delivery of at least one copy of the letter.

like you to be assured that neither all of you, nor the Senate are without strong safeguards, so that you may defend the Republic in the best of hopes and with the highest spirit. What business remains will be transacted with you by L. Carteius, an intimate friend of mine. Farewell. Dated the 7th of March, from camp at Tarichea.

XII

CASSIUS TO CICERO

Camp in Syria, May 7th, 43 B.C.

If you are well, all is right; I too am well.[a] I 1
have read your letter, in which I recognize afresh your wonderful affection for me. For it seemed that you not only back me up—that you have always done, both for my sake, and the sake of the Republic—but also that you have shouldered a burden of anxiety, and feel seriously perturbed about me. And therefore, because in the first place I thought you were under the impression that, after the crushing of the constitution, I could never keep quiet, and secondly, because I thought you were anxious, both about my safety, and the ultimate issue of affairs, since you would naturally suspect me of taking drastic measures, for both these reasons then, as soon as I took over the legions A. Allienus had brought away from Egypt,[b] I wrote to you, and sent quite a number of letter-carriers[c] to Rome. I also wrote a despatch to the Senate, forbidding it to be delivered until it had been read out to you—if it

essent, si forte mei obtemperare mihi voluerint. Quod si litterae perlatae non sunt, non dubito, quin Dolabella, qui, nefarie Trebonio occiso, Asiam occupavit, tabellarios meos deprehenderit
2 litterasque interceperit. Exercitus omnes, qui in Syria fuere, teneo. Habui paullulum morae, dum promissa militibus persolvo. Nunc iam sum expeditus. A te peto, ut dignitatem meam commendatam tibi habeas, si me intellegis nullum neque periculum neque laborem patriae denegasse, si contra importunissimos latrones arma cepi te hortante et auctore, si non solum exercitus ad rempublicam libertatemque defendendam comparavi, sed etiam crudelissimis tyrannis eripui, quos si occupasset Dolabella, non solum adventu, sed etiam opinione et exspectatione exer-
3 citus sui Antonium confirmasset. Quas ob res milites tuere, si eos mirifice de republica meritos esse animadvertis, et effice, ne quem poeniteat rempublicam quam spem praedae et rapinarum sequi maluisse. Item Murci et Crispi imperatorum dignitatem, quantum est in te, tuere. Nam Bassus misere noluit mihi legionem tradere. Quod nisi milites invito eo legatos ad me misissent, clausam Apameam tenuisset, quoad vi esset expugnata. Haec a te peto non solum reipublicae, quae tibi semper fuit carissima, sed etiam amicitiae nostrae

[a] His claim to be formally appointed governor of Syria.
[b] Antony and Dolabella.
[c] Sixty miles S.E. of Antioch, near the river Orontes.

happens that my people have been good enough to regard my wishes. But if no letter has reached you, I have no doubt that Dolabella, who, since his abominable murder of Trebonius, has overrun the Asian provinces, has arrested my letter-carriers and intercepted my despatch.

I hold all the troops that were in Syria. There has 2
been some slight delay in the fulfilment of my promises to my men. Now at last my hands are free. I beg of you to regard my claim to honour [a] as committed to your charge, if you realize that there is no danger, no toil, I have refused to face for my country, if it was at your instance and with your encouragement that I took up arms against the most presumptuous brigands, if I have not only raised whole armies to defend the cause of the State and its liberty, but have even snatched it from the hands of the most bloodthirsty tyrants [b]; for had Dolabella anticipated me in getting hold of them, his army, not only by its actual arrival, but by the mere hope and expectation of it, would have strengthened the hands of Antony.

For these reasons I beg you to look after my men, 3
if you are cognizant of their amazing services to the Republic, and so to manage matters that not one of them may regret having set the call of the Republic above the lure of loot and rapine. Attend too, as far as you possibly can, to the claims of the commanders, Murcus and Crispus. As for Bassus, the poor fool would not hand his legion over to me. And had not his men broken his orders and sent me a deputation, he would have kept the gates of Apamea [c] shut until I had stormed it. These requests I make of you not only in the name of the Republic, which has always been most precious to you, but also in that of our

nomine, quam confido apud te plurimum posse.
4 Crede mihi, hunc exercitum, quem habeo, senatus atque optimi cuiusque esse maximeque tuum; de cuius voluntate assidue audiendo mirifice te diligit carumque habet. Qui si intellexerit commoda sua curae tibi esse, debere etiam se tibi omnia putabit.

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5 Litteris scriptis audii, Dolabellam in Ciliciam venisse cum suis copiis. Proficiscar in Ciliciam. Quid egerim, celeriter ut scias, dabo operam. Ac velim, ut meremur de republica, sic felices simus. Fac valeas meque ames. Nonis Maiis, ex castris.

XIII

C. CASSIUS Q. S. D. M. CICERONI

In Cypro, Crommyuacride, A.U.C. 711.

1 S.v.b.e.e.v. Cum reipublicae vel salute vel victoria gaudemus, tum instauratione tuarum laudum; quod maximus consularis maximum consulem te ipse vicisti, et laetamur et mirari satis non possumus. Fatale nescio quid tuae virtuti datum, idque saepe iam

[a] The writer of this letter is generally supposed to be Cassius Parmensis (so called from the town of his birth), one of the murderers of Caesar, who stoutly opposed the triumvirs. After the death of Brutus and Cassius he transferred the fleet he commanded to Sicily and joined Sex. Pompey, upon whose defeat he surrendered himself to Antony, whom he followed until after the battle of Actium (31 B.C.). He then retired to Athens, where he was put to death by order of Antony. Horace (*Ep.* i. 4. 3) refers to him as a poet, and Quintilian (v. 11. 24) assigns to him two tragedies, *Thyestes* and *Brutus*.

[b] Κρομμύου ἄκρις, "onion-point," a promontory on the north of Cyprus.

friendship, which I am sure counts for very much with you.

Take my word for it, these troops under my command are at the disposal of the Senate and all loyal citizens, and most of all at yours; for being constantly told of your sympathies makes them astonishingly fond of you, and you are their favourite; and if once they grasp the fact that you have their interests at heart, they will feel that there is nothing they do not owe you. 4

Since writing this letter I have been told that Dolabella and his forces have arrived in Cilicia. Cilicia will be my objective. I shall do my utmost to let you have early news of what I have been able to do. And may I express a hope that our luck may be in proportion to our public deserts? Mind you keep your health and your affection for me. In camp, May 7th. 5

XIII

CASSIUS PARMENSIS[a] TO CICERO

Crommyuacris,[b] in Cyprus, June 13th, 43 B.C.

If you are well, all is right; I am well. I am delighted not only at the safety, or shall we say the victory, of the Republic, but also at the revival of your glorious reputation. That you, the greatest of consulars, have surpassed yourself as the greatest of consuls is an ever increasing joy and wonder to me. Your gallantry has been blessed with some special favour of fate, of which we have had many practical 1

experti sumus. Est enim tua toga omnium armis felicior; quae nunc quoque nobis paene victam rempublicam ex manibus hostium eripuit ac reddidit. Nunc ergo vivemus liberi; nunc te, omnium maxime civis, et mihi carissime (id quod maximis reipublicae tenebris comperisti), nunc te habebimus testem nostri et in te et in coniunctissimam tibi rempublicam amoris, et quae saepe pollicitus es te et taciturum, dum serviremus, et dicturum de me tum, cum mihi profutura essent, nunc illa non ego quidem dici tanto opere desiderabo, quam sentiri a te ipso. Neque enim omnium iudicio malim me a te commendari, quam ipse tuo iudicio digne ac mereor commendatus esse; ut haec novissima nostra facta, non subita, nec inconvenientia,[1] sed similia illis cogitationibus, quarum tu testis es, fuisse iudices, meque ad optimam spem patriae non minimum tibi ipsi producendum putes.
2 Sunt tibi, M. Tulli, liberi propinquique digni quidem te et merito tibi carissimi. Esse etiam debent in republica proxime hos cari, qui studiorum tuorum sunt aemuli, quorum esse cupio tibi copiam. Sed tamen non maxima me turba puto excludi, quo minus tibi vacet me excipere, et ad omnia, quae velis et

[1] *Cratander*: covenientia *M*: convenientia *Klotz*.

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[a] Cicero in his own poem, *De meis temporibus*, had written, "*Cedant arma togae, concedat laurea laudi*," "Let arms yield to the toga, and the laurel (of military conquest) yield unreservedly to (civic) praise."

[b] Tyrrell's translation "that you yourself should be the main cause of my advancement" would surely require *minime* in the text, and not *minimum*.

proofs. Your toga[a] is more fortunate than any men's arms; and now again it has snatched from the hands of the enemy, and restored to us, a Republic which had been all but vanquished. Now, therefore, we shall live in freedom; now too we shall find in you, greatest of all citizens as you are, and most dear to me (that much you discovered in the State's darkest hour), we shall find in you, I say, a witness to my love for you and for the State so closely linked up with you; now too, with regard to those sentiments you promised to suppress in the days of our servitude, and to express about me when they were likely to be of advantage to me, well, my desire for the future is not so much that they should be expressed as that you should feel them in your heart. For I should not wish to be commended by you to the judgment of the world, so much as to have won for myself in a manner worthy of my deserts the commendation of your own judgment—your judging, I mean, that these most recent acts of mine were not indeed precipitate or inconsistent, but quite in keeping with those reflections to which you can testify, and your concluding that you yourself ought to put me forward as not the most insignificant representative[b] of our country's highest hopes.

You have children and relatives, M. Tullius, 2
worthy of yourself, and most deservedly very dear to you. Next to them, those men also ought to hold your affection in public life who emulate your enthusiasms; and of such I desire you to have no lack. At the same time, however dense the throng, I do not think I am so crowded out as to preclude your having room for my reception, and putting me

probes, producere. Animum tibi nostrum fortasse probavimus; ingenium diutina servitus, certe, qualecumque est, minus tamen, quam erat, passa est
3 videri. Nos ex ora maritima Asiae provinciae et ex insulis, quas potuimus, naves deduximus. Delectum remigum, magna contumacia civitatum, tamen satis celeriter habuimus. Secuti sumus classem Dolabellae, cui L. Figulus praeerat, qui spem saepe transitionis praebendo neque umquam non decedendo novissime Corycum se contulit, et clauso portu se tenere coepit. Nos, illa relicta, quod et in castra pervenire satius esse putabamus, et sequebatur classis altera, quam anno priore in Bithynia Tillius Cimber compararat, cui Turullius quaestor praeerat, Cyprum petivimus. Ibi quae cognovimus, scribere ad vos
4 quam celerrime voluimus. Dolabellam, ut Tarsenses, pessimi socii, ita Laodiceni, multo amentiores, ultro arcessierunt; ex quibus utrisque civitatibus Graecorum militum numero speciem exercitus effecit. Castra habet ante oppidum Laodiceam posita et partem muri demolitus est, et castra oppido coniunxit. Cassius noster cum decem legionibus et cohortibus viginti auxiliariis et quattuor milium equitatu a milibus passuum viginti castra habet posita Πάλτῳ, et existimat se sine proelio posse vincere. Nam iam ternis tetradrachmis triticum apud Dola-

[a] On the coast of Cilicia Trachea, now Korghoz.
[b] One of Caesar's assassins.
[c] Also one of the conspirators, and afterwards a partisan of Antony against Octavian.
[d] A coast town of Syria, a little south of Laodicea.

forward in anything you wish or approve. Of my disposition I have perhaps given you sufficient proof; as to my ability, such as it is, I must admit that a long period of servitude has not permitted it to appear as great as it used to be.

On the sea-coast of the province of Asia and on 3
the islands we have launched all the ships we could. We have had a levy of rowers, quite expeditiously carried out in spite of the obstinate contumacy of the communities. We have pursued Dolabella's fleet under the command of L. Figulus, who, by constantly raising our hopes of his coming over to us, and invariably disappointing them, has finally succeeded in reaching Corycus,[a] where he is beginning to establish himself in the closed harbour. Giving up the pursuit of that fleet, because we thought it better to reach the camp, and because a second fleet was following, collected by Tillius Cimber[b] the previous year in Bithynia, and now under the command of the quaestor Turullius,[c] we made for Cyprus. The news we picked up there I mean to send you by letter as quickly as possible.

Just as the people of Tarsus, our worst allies, did, 4
so now the Laodiceans, who are far more infatuated, have gone out of their way to send for Dolabella; and he, by recruiting a rabble of Greek soldiers out of both those states, has worked up the semblance of an army. He has a camp pitched in front of the town of Laodicea; he has pulled down part of the wall, and has linked his camp with the town. Our friend Cassius with ten legions, twenty auxiliary cohorts, and a cavalry force of 4000, has a camp pitched twenty miles away at Paltus,[d] and anticipates a bloodless victory, seeing that with Dolabella the

bellam est. Nisi quid navibus Laodicenorum supportarit, cito fame pereat necesse est: ne supportare possit, et Cassi classis bene magna, cui praeest Sextilius Rufus, et tres, quas nos adduximus, ego, Turullius, Patiscus, facile praestabunt. Te volo bene sperare, et rempublicam, ut vos istic expedistis, ita pro nostra parte celeriter vobis expediri posse, confidere. Vale. Data Idibus Iun. Cypro, a Crommyuacride.

XIV

LENTULUS S. P. D. CICERONI SUO

Pergae, A.U.C. 711.

1 Cum Brutum nostrum convenissem eumque tardius in Asiam venturum animadverterem, in Asiam redii, ut reliquias mei laboris colligerem et pecuniam quam primum Romam mitterem. Interim cognovi in Lycia esse classem Dolabellae ampliusque centum naves onerarias, in quas exercitus eius imponi posset, idque Dolabellam ea mente comparasse, ut, si Syriae spes

[a] The standard Greek measure of corn was the μέδιμνος, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ bushels; so that corn was now 8 drachmas a bushel, and a drachma being about 10d., a quarter (8 bushels) would cost $\frac{160}{3}$s., which is 53s. 4d. Tyrrell works it out at 52s. The average price of wheat in 1928 was about 50s. a quarter. The highest ever reached in England was 177s. in 1801.

[b] Publius Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, son of the Lentulus who obtained the restoration of Cicero from exile (i. 1. 1). He was elected augur at the age of sixteen, and Cicero was present at the banquet on that occasion (vii. 26). In 47 he was at Alexandria, and in 45, when at Rome, he divorced his profligate wife Metella (Hor. *Sat.* ii. 3. 239). After the death of Caesar, by the influence of the Antonies he was appointed proquaestor to Trebonius in Asia, and administered that province after the murder of Trebonius by Dolabella.

price of wheat is already three tetradrachms.[a] Unless he contrives to get a supply in the ships of the Laodiceans, he is doomed to die of hunger very soon; and to prevent his getting it will be an easy business for Cassius's fleet, quite a large one, under the command of Sextilius Rufus, and the three fleets Turullius, Patiscus, and myself have respectively brought here. I want you to have high hopes, and to rest assured that the difficulties of the State can speedily be solved on our side, as you have solved them at home. Farewell. Dated June 13th. Commyuacris, in Cyprus.

XIV

P. LENTULUS[b] TO HIS DEAR CICERO

Perga, May 29th, 43 B.C.

Having called upon our friend Brutus, and finding that he would be somewhat late in coming to Asia, I returned to Asia myself, to collect the arrears of my business and send the money to Rome as soon as possible. Meantime I learnt that Dolabella's fleet was off Lycia, and over a hundred ships of burden, on which his army might be embarked; and that Dolabella's intention in collecting them had been, if foiled in his hopes of Syria, to get on board 1

Of these services he gives an account in this and the next letter. Later he served against Rhodes, and was in command of Myra in Lycia. Though he had no right to do so, he persisted in claiming a share in Caesar's assassination, and was ultimately put to death, probably for that reason, by Antony and Octavian. His literary style, as shown in these letters, is remarkably good.

eum frustrata esset, conscenderet in naves et Italiam peteret, seque cum Antoniis et reliquis latronibus coniungeret. Cuius rei tanto in timore fui, ut, omnibus rebus relictis, cum paucioribus et minoribus navi-
2 bus ad illas ire conatus sim. Quae res, si a Rhodiis non essem interpellatus, fortasse tota sublata esset; tamen magna ex parte profligata est; quando quidem classis dissipata est adventus nostri timore, milites ducesque effugerunt, onerariae omnes ad unam a nobis sunt exceptae. Certe (quod maxime timui) videor consecutus, ut non possit Dolabella in Italiam pervenire, nec, sociis suis firmatis, durius vobis efficere
3 negotium. Rhodii nos et rempublicam quam valde desperaverint, ex litteris, quas publice misi, cognosces. Et quidem multo parcius scripsi, quam re vera eos furere inveni. Quod vero aliquid de his scripsi, mirari noli. Mira est eorum amentia. Nec moverunt me[1] ullae privatim iniuriae umquam; malus animus eorum in nostram salutem, cupiditas partium aliarum, perseverantia in contemptione optimi cuiusque ferenda mihi non fuit. Nec tamen omnes perditos esse puto; sed iidem illi, qui tum fugientem patrem meum, qui L. Lentulum, qui Pompeium, qui ceteros viros clarissimos non receperunt, iidem, tamquam aliquo fato, et nunc aut magistratum gerunt aut eos, qui sunt in magistratu, in sua habent pote-

[1] nec moverunt me *Wesenberg from an old correction*: nec me meae *M.*

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[a] M. Antonius and his brothers, Gaius and Lucius.
[b] After Pharsalia.
[c] Consul in 49 B.C.
[d] There is no reference elsewhere to the refusal of the Rhodians to receive Pompey, though, according to Appian (*B.C.* iii. 83), Rhodian triremes accompanied him to Egypt.

and make for Italy, and effect a junction with the Antonies[a] and the rest of the band of brigands. I was so much afraid of this happening, that, abandoning every other project, I made an effort to reach that fleet with fewer and smaller ships of my own. And, 2
had I not been embarrassed by the Rhodians, the whole affair would perhaps have ended there and then; anyhow it was in a great measure successful, since there is no doubt that the dread of our arrival scattered that fleet, and put to flight the soldiers and officers, while the ships of burden, without a single exception, fell into our hands. At any rate I imagine I have managed to prevent Dolabella (and that is what I was most afraid of) from reaching Italy, and, by reinforcing his allies, causing you yet more serious trouble.

How utterly the Rhodians have despaired of us 3
and the Republic, you will gather from my public despatch. And as a matter of fact I have written with much more reserve than my actual experience of their insanity warranted; you must not be surprised, however, at my having written *something* about them; their infatuation is astonishing. And it is not that any private wrongs affected me at any time; no, it was their malevolence when our lives were at stake, their eagerness to befriend the other side, their persistent scorn of all our best loyalists—all that was more than I could endure. And yet I do not think them all incorrigible, but those very men who in the old days refused to receive my father when in flight,[b] and L. Lentulus[c] and Pompey,[d] and all the others, men of the highest distinction,—those very men, I say, as though by some irony of fate, are now also wielding the magistracy, or else have those

state. Itaque eadem superbia in pravitate utuntur. Quorum improbitatem aliquando retundi, et non pati impunitate augeri, non solum utile est reipublicae
4 nostrae, sed etiam necessarium. De nostra dignitate, velim tibi ut semper curae sit et, quocumque tempore occasionem habueris, et in senatu et in ceteris rebus laudi nostrae suffragere. Quando consulibus decreta est Asia, et permissum est iis, ut, dum ipsi venirent, darent negotium, qui Asiam obtineant, rogo te, petas ab iis, ut hanc dignitatem potissimum nobis tribuant, et mihi dent negotium, ut Asiam obtineam, dum ipsorum alteruter venerit. Nam, quod huc properent in magistratu venire aut exercitum mittere, causam non habent. Dolabella enim in Syria est; et, ut tu divina tua mente prospexisti et praedicasti, dum isti venient, Cassius eum opprimet. Exclusus enim ab Antiochia Dolabella et in oppugnando male acceptus, nulla alia confisus urbe, Laodiceam, quae est in Syria ad mare, se contulit. Ibi spero celeriter eum poenas daturum; nam neque, quo refugiat, habet; neque diutius ibi poterit tantum exercitum Cassi sustinere. Spero etiam confectum esse iam et op-
5 pressum Dolabellam. Quare non puto, Pansam et Hirtium in consulatu properaturos in provincias exire, sed Romae acturos consulatum. Itaque, si ab his

who are in office under their thumb; so naturally they are as arrogant as ever in their perversity. That the rascality of these fellows should be forcibly repressed before it is too late, and that we should not permit it to thrive on impunity, is not only of advantage to the State, but a matter of urgent necessity.

As regards my position in the State, I should be 4
glad if you would always bear it in mind, and whenever you have the opportunity, support my reputation both in the Senate and in all other respects. Now that Asia has been decreed to the consuls, and they have been allowed to appoint delegates to hold Asia until they themselves arrive, I ask you to beg of them to confer that dignity upon me rather than upon anyone else, and make me responsible for the administration of Asia until one or other of them arrives. For there is no reason why they should hurry hither during their year of office, or send an army either, since Dolabella is in Syria, and, as you with your prophetic instinct have foreseen and publicly announced, will, while they are on their way, be crushed by Cassius. He has been shut out of Antioch, having had a rough time of it in trying to storm that town, and, putting his trust in no other city, he has betaken himself to Laodicea, near the sea, in Syria. There I hope he will speedily be brought to book, since he has nowhere else to flee to for refuge, and cannot much longer hold out there against so large an army as Cassius has. Indeed I hope that Dolabella is already crushed and done for.

I do not suppose then that Pansa and Hirtius will 5
be in any hurry to leave for their provinces during their consulship, but will play the consul at Rome;

petieris, ut interea nobis procurationem Asiae dent, spero te posse impetrare. Praeterea mihi promiserunt Pansa et Hirtius coram, et absenti mihi scripserunt, Verrioque nostro Pansa affirmavit, se daturum operam, ne in suo consulatu mihi succedatur. Ego porro non, medius fidius, cupiditate provinciae produci longius spatium mihi volo; nam mihi fuit ista provincia plena laboris, periculi, detrimenti. Quae ego ne frustra subierim neve prius, quam reliquias meae diligentiae consequar, decedere cogar, valde laboro. Nam si potuissem, quam exegeram pecuniam, universam mittere, postularem, ut mihi succederetur; nunc, quod Cassio dedi, quod Treboni morte amisimus, quod etiam crudelitate Dolabellae, aut perfidia eorum, qui fidem mihi reique publicae non praestiterunt, id consequi et reficere volo; quod aliter non potest fieri, nisi spatium habuero. Id ut per te consequar, velim, ut solet, tibi curae sit.

6 Ego me de republica puto esse meritum, ut non provinciae istius beneficium exspectare debeam, sed tantum, quantum Cassius et Bruti, non solum illius facti periculique societate, sed etiam huius temporis studio et virtute. Primus enim ego leges Antonias fregi; primus equitatum Dolabellae ad rempublicam

[a] See note *b* at the beginning of this letter.

[b] Probably he means that he had ignored the validity of certain immunities sold by Antony to states and individuals in Asia. Tyrrell.

so if you request them to give me full charge of Asia in the meantime, I hope you will be able to obtain their consent. Moreover, Pansa and Hirtius promised me by word of mouth, and wrote to me when I was away, and Pansa assured our friend Verrius, that he would do his utmost to prevent my being superseded during their consulship. I declare to you, on my word of honour, that my wish to have my term of office prolonged is not prompted by any particular desire for a province; for this province has meant little else to me than trouble, danger, and loss: and I am straining every nerve to prevent what I have undergone being thrown away, and my being compelled to quit the province before finishing off what, for all my assiduity, still remains to be done. Had it been possible for me to forward the whole amount of the money I had raised by taxation, I should demand to be relieved of my province; but as it is, what I want is to get hold of and make up what I gave to Cassius, what we lost by the death of Trebonius, and also by the brutality of Dolabella, or the treachery of those who failed to keep their word with me and the Republic; and all this can only be done if I am given time. To secure that time with your assistance—that is what I should like you (as always) to arrange for me.

I think that I have deserved so well of the Republic 6
as to be justified in expecting not only the favour of this province, but quite as much as Cassius and the two Brutuses have got, not merely for the part I took in that great achievement and its danger,[a] but for the enthusiasm and spirit I have shown in these critical days. Why, I was the first to defy the laws of Antony[b]; I was the first to bring over Dolabella's

traduxi Cassioque tradidi; primus delectus habui pro salute omnium contra coniurationem sceleratissimam; solus Cassio et reipublicae Syriam exercitusque, qui ibi erant, coniunxi. Nam nisi ego tantam pecuniam tantaque praesidia et tam celeriter Cassio dedissem, ne ausus quidem esset ire in Syriam, et nunc non minora pericula reipublicae a Dolabella in-
7 starent, quam ab Antonio. Atque haec omnia is feci, qui sodalis et familiarissimus Dolabellae eram, coniunctissimus sanguine Antoniis, provinciam quoque illorum beneficio habebam; sed, πατρίδα ἐμὴν μᾶλλον φιλῶν, omnibus meis bellum primus indixi. Haec etsi adhuc non magno opere mihi tulisse fructum animadverto, tamen non despero nec defetigabor permanere, non solum in studio libertatis, sed etiam in labore et periculis. Attamen si etiam aliqua gloria iusta et merita provocabimur senatus et optimi cuiusque officiis, maiore cum auctoritate apud ceteros erimus, et eo plus prodesse reipublicae poterimus.
8 Filium tuum, ad Brutum cum veni, videre non potui, ideo quod iam in hiberna cum equitibus erat profectus; sed, medius fidius, ea esse eum opinione, et

cavalry to the side of the Republic and hand it over to Cassius; I was the first to hold levies in defence of our common safety against a most nefarious conspiracy; and I alone put Syria and the armies there in the hands of Cassius and the Republic. For had I not given Cassius so large a sum of money, and such strong reinforcements, and that so promptly, he would never have dared to enter Syria at all, and at the present moment the Republic would be threatened with no less danger by Dolabella than
by Antony. And I, the man who did all this, was 7
once the crony and most intimate friend of Dolabella, and a close blood-relation of the Antonies—indeed it was by their favour that I held a province; none the less, "holding my country dearer than all,"[a] I was the first to declare war upon all those dear to me.

Although I observe that all this has been of no great advantage to me, still I do not despair, and shall not grow weary of persevering not only in my enthusiasm for liberty, but also in facing the toil and dangers it involves.

But, be that as it may, if through the kind offices of the Senate and all patriotic citizens I am still further stimulated by the compliment of some proper and well-deserved distinction, it will give me more influence with others, and enable me to be of proportionately greater service to the commonwealth.

Your son I was unable to see when I visited Brutus, 8
owing to his having already started for winter-quarters with the cavalry; but, on my solemn oath, both on your account and his own, and most particularly

[a] The full line is φιλῶ τέκν', ἀλλὰ πατρίδ' ἐμὴν μᾶλλον φιλῶ ("I love my children, but my country more"), supposed to come from the *Erechtheus* of Euripides.

tua et ipsius et in primis mea causa gaudeo. Fratris enim loco mihi est, qui ex te natus teque dignus est. Vale. D. IV. Kalend. Iun. Pergae.

XV

P. LENTULUS P. F. PROQ. PROPR. S. D. COSS. PRAETT. TRIBB. PL. SEN. P. P. Q. R.

Pergae, A.U.C. 711.

1 S.v.l.v.v.b.e.e.v. Scelere Dolabellae oppressa Asia, in proximam provinciam Macedoniam praesidiaque reipublicae, quae M. Brutus, v.c. tenebat, me contuli, et id egi, ut, per quos celerrime posset, Asia provincia vectigaliaque in vestram potestatem redigerentur. Quod cum pertimuisset Dolabella, vastata provincia, correptis vectigalibus, praecipue civibus Romanis omnibus crudelissime denudatis ac divenditis, celeriusque Asia excessisset, quam eo praesidium adduci potuisset, diutius morari aut exspectare praesidium non necesse habui et quam primum ad meum officium revertendum mihi esse existimavi, ut et reliqua vectigalia exigerem et, quam deposui pecuniam, colligerem, quidque ex ea correptum esset aut quorum id culpa ac-

[a] Having ceased to be quaestor at the end of 44, Lentulus was now serving as proquaestor, his successor not having been yet appointed.

[b] After the murder of Trebonius the Senate entrusted the province to the consuls; as their *legatus* Lentulus would discharge praetorial functions, his official title being *legatus pro praetore*.

[c] s.v.l.v.v.b.e.e.v. = Si vos liberique vestri valetis, bene est; ego valeo.

[d] v.c. = vir clarissimus.

on mine, I am delighted that he is so highly thought of; for being your son and worthy of his father, I look upon him as a brother. Farewell. Perga, May 29th.

XV

P. LENTULUS, SON OF PUBLIUS, PROQUAESTOR,[a] PROPRAETOR,[b] GREETS THE CONSULS, PRAETORS, TRIBUNES OF THE PLEBS, THE SENATE, PEOPLE, AND PLEBS OF ROME

Perga, May 29th, 43 B.C.

If you and your children are well, all is right, I am well.[c] When Asia had been crushed by the criminal conduct of Dolabella, I betook myself to the adjoining province of Macedonia and the garrisons of the Republic which were being held by that most distinguished man,[d] M. Brutus; and I made it my business to have the province of Asia and its revenue put into your hands through agents who could do it as expeditiously as possible. This thoroughly frightened Dolabella, and when, after devastating the province, seizing the revenues, and, worst of all, most brutally beggaring all Roman citizens and dispersing their property by sale, he had quitted Asia sooner than any defensive force could be brought into the country, in these circumstances I deemed it unnecessary to delay any longer or wait for a garrison, and considered it my duty to return as soon as possible to my post, in order to get in what was left of the revenues, to collect the money I had deposited, to discover as soon as possible how much of it had been 1

cidisset, cognoscerem quam primum et vos de omni re
2 facerem certiores. Interim cum per insulas in Asiam naviganti mihi nuntiatum esset classem Dolabellae in Lycia esse Rhodiosque naves complures instructas et paratas in aqua habere, cum iis navibus, quas aut mecum adduxeram aut comparaverat Patiscus proquaestor, homo mihi cum familiaritate, tum etiam sensibus in republica coniunctissimus, Rhodum reverti confisus auctoritate vestra senatusque consulto, quo hostem Dolabellam iudicaratis, foedere quoque, quod cum his, M. Marcello, Ser. Sulpicio consulibus, renovatum erat; quo iuraverant Rhodii, eosdem hostes se habituros, quos S. P. Q. R. Quae res nos vehementer fefellit. Tantum enim abfuit, ut illorum praesidio nostram firmaremus classem, ut etiam a Rhodiis urbe, portu, statione, quae extra urbem est, commeatu, aqua denique prohiberentur nostri milites, nos vix ipsi singulis cum navigiolis reciperemur. Quam indignitatem deminutionemque non solum iuris nostri, sed etiam maiestatis imperique populi Romani idcirco tulimus, quod interceptis litteris cognoramus, Dolabellam, si desperasset de Syria Aegyptoque, quod necesse erat fieri, in naves cum omnibus suis latronibus atque omni pecunia conscendere esse paratum Italiamque petere; idcirco etiam naves onerarias, quarum minor nulla erat duum milium amphorum, contractas in Lycia a classe eius

[a] *i.e.*, through the Aegean isles, as opposed to the route across the Hellespont.

[b] He it was who sent panthers to Caelius (viii. 9. 3). He was now serving as assistant proquaestor to Lentulus.

[c] *i.e.*, in 51 B.C.

[d] *i.e.*, about 60 of our tons. The *amphora* as a liquid measure = about 7 of our gallons.

seized, or who was to blame for its having happened, and report to you on the whole matter.

Meanwhile as I was on my voyage to Asia by the 2
island route,[a] having received news that Dolabella's fleet was off Lycia, and that the Rhodians had several ships fully equipped and ready afloat, with those ships which I had either brought with me, or which had been collected by Patiscus[b] the proquaestor, a man very closely bound to me by personal ties as well as by his political sentiments, I returned to Rhodes, relying upon your authority and the decree of the Senate, whereby you had pronounced Dolabella a public enemy, and also on the treaty which had been renewed with them in the consulship of M. Marcellus and Servius Sulpicius,[c] according to which the Rhodians had sworn to have the same enemies as the Senate and people of Rome. In that I was bitterly disappointed, for so far from having our fleet strengthened by their assistance, the Rhodians actually cut off our men from the city and their harbour and the roadstead outside the city, and finally from getting water, while I and my suite had difficulty in being admitted with a few small craft. And the reason I tolerated such a humiliating degradation not only of my own jurisdiction, but also of the majesty and imperial power of the Roman people was this—I had discovered from an intercepted despatch that Dolabella, once he had given up all hopes of Syria and Egypt, as was certain to happen, was prepared to get on board his fleet with all his fellow-brigands and all the money, and sail for Italy; and that with that object in view certain cargo-ships, not one of which had a tonnage of less than 2000 amphorae,[d] had been herded together off Lycia and were hemmed in by his fleet.

3 obsideri. Huius rei timore, patres conscripti, perculsus, iniurias perpeti et, cum contumelia etiam nostra, omnia prius experiri malui. Itaque ad illorum voluntatem introductus in urbem et in senatum eorum, quam diligentissime potui, causam reipublicae egi periculumque omne, quod instaret, si ille latro cum omnibus suis naves conscendisset, exposui. Rhodios autem tanta in pravitate animadverti, ut omnes firmiores putarent, quam bonos; ut hanc concordiam et conspirationem omnium ordinum ad defendendam libertatem propense non crederent esse factam; ut patientiam senatus et optimi cuiusque manere etiam nunc confiderent, nec potuisse audere quemquam Dolabellam hostem iudicare; ut denique omnia, quae improbi fingebant, magis vera existimarent, quam quae vere facta erant et a nobis doce-
4 bantur. Qua mente etiam ante nostrum adventum, post Treboni indignissimam caedem ceteraque tot tamque nefaria facinora, binae profectae erant ad Dolabellam legationes eorum, et quidem novo exemplo, contra leges ipsorum, prohibentibus iis, qui tum magistratus gerebant; hac[1] (sive timore, ut dictitant, de agris, quos in continenti habent, sive furore, sive potentia[2] paucorum, qui et antea pari contumelia viros clarissimos affecerant, et nunc

[1] *sc.* mente *Lehmann*: gerebant. Hic *Orelli and Madvig* Haec . . . mederi . . . noluerunt. *Oxf. Text.*
[2] patientia *M*: *Tyrrell takes* paucorum *as gen. of the object.*

[a] *i.e.*, they reckoned from past experience that the Senatorial party had neither the power nor the wish to do anything.
[b] These embassies were sent by the Rhodian Senate (βουλή), who, with the people, appear to have adopted the cause of Dolabella—the Senate perhaps not very willing,

Thrilled with apprehension of such a disaster, Conscript Fathers, I deemed it best to brook any injurious gesture, even if it meant my being insulted, and to try every expedient sooner than take action. Accordingly, being brought into their city and into their Senate by their own wish, I pleaded the cause of the Republic with all the earnestness in my power, and set before them the whole extent of the danger which would threaten them, if once that brigand should have embarked with all his confederates. I found the Rhodians, however, so utterly wrongheaded as to attribute greater strength to any party than to the loyalists; to give no ready credence to the creation of this spirit of harmony and unanimity among all orders in the defence of freedom; to feel confident that the forbearance of the Senate and the whole patriotic party was as imperturbable as ever and that no one would have dared judge Dolabella as an enemy[a]; to conclude, in short, that the truth lay rather in the misrepresentations of unprincipled men than in what had actually occurred and what I was telling them. 3

They were under this delusion when, even before 4
my arrival, but after his shameful murder of Trebonius and all his other abominable crimes, two embassies had been despatched by them to Dolabella—surely a breach of precedent and in contravention of their own laws[b] and of the prohibition of those at the time in office; they were under this delusion again, when (whether from fear, as they repeatedly alleged, of losing the lands they hold on the mainland, or in a fit of madness, or owing to the undue ascendancy of those few who had previously treated with contumely our most distinguished citizens, and were now treat-

but being overborne by some violent democrats among their number. Tyrrell.

maximos magistratus gerentes), nullo exemplo neque nostra ex parte provocati,[1] neque nostro praesentium, neque imminenti Italiae urbique nostrae periculo, si ille parricida cum suis latronibus navibus, ex Asia Syriaque expulsus, Italiam petisset, mederi, cum

5 facile possent, voluerunt. Nonnullis etiam ipsi magistratus veniebant in suspicionem, detinuisse nos, et demorati esse, dum classis Dolabellae certior fieret de adventu nostro. Quam suspicionem consecutae res aliquot auxerunt; maxime quod subito ex Lycia Sex. Marius et C. Titius legati Dolabellae a classe discesserunt navique longa profugerunt onerariis relictis; in quibus colligendis non minimum temporis laborisque consumpserant. Itaque cum ab Rhodo cum iis, quas habueramus, navibus in Lyciam venissemus, naves onerarias recepimus dominisque restituimus; iidemque, quod maxime verebamur, ne posset Dolabella cum suis latronibus in Italiam venire, timere desiimus; classem fugientem persecuti sumus usque Sidam, quae extrema regio est provinciae meae.

6 Ibi cognovi partem navium Dolabellae diffugisse, reliquas Syriam Cyprumque petiisse. Quibus disiectis, cum scirem C. Cassi, singularis civis et ducis, classem maximam fore praesto in Syria, ad meum officium reverti; daboque operam, ut meum studium, diligentiam vobis, patres conscripti, reique publicae

[1] provocati *inserted by Tyrrell.*

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[a] In Pamphylia.

[b] For C. Cassius Parmensis see note on 13. 1.

ing in like manner those holding their highest offices) they refused, without precedent and without any provocation on our part, yes, refused to avert, as they might so easily have done, the danger that both threatened us who were on the spot, and hung over Italy and our city, in the event of that murderer of his country, driven out of Asia and Syria, having embarked with his gang of ruffians, and made for Italy.

There were some of us who suspected even the magistrates themselves of having detained us and delayed until Dolabella's fleet got to know of our arrival—a suspicion increased by several subsequent events, especially the fact that Dolabella's legates, Sex. Marius and C. Titius, suddenly quitted the fleet off the coast of Lycia and took flight on board a warship, leaving behind them their cargo-ships, in the collection of which they had spent no inconsiderable time and trouble. So when we arrived off Lycia from Rhodes on board the ships then in our possession we retook the cargo-ships and restored them to their owners, and at the same time we ceased to fear (and this had been our chief anxiety) that Dolabella and his gang of ruffians would be able to reach Italy. The fugitive fleet we chased all the way to Sida,[a] a district on the farthest edge of my province. 5

Then I discovered that part of Dolabella's fleet had scattered, while the rest of it had made for Syria and Cyprus. On their dispersal, being aware that the very powerful fleet of that eminent citizen and commander, C. Cassius,[b] would be on the spot off Syria, I returned to my post, where I shall make it my endeavour to put what energy and assiduity I possess at your disposal, Conscript Fathers, and that 6

praestem; pecuniamque, quam maximam potero, et quam celerrime cogam omnibusque cum rationibus ad vos mittam. Si percurrero provinciam et cognovero, qui nobis et reipublicae fidem praestiterint[1] in conservanda pecunia a me deposita, quique scelerate[2] ultro deferentes pecuniam publicam hoc munere societatem facinorum cum Dolabella inierint, faciam vos certiores. De quibus, si vobis videbitur, si, ut meriti sunt, graviter constitueritis, nosque vestra auctoritate firmaveritis, facilius et reliqua exigere vectigalia, et exacta servare poterimus. Interea quo commodius vectigalia tueri provinciamque ab iniuria defendere possim, praesidium necessarium

7 voluntariumque comparavi. His litteris scriptis, milites circiter xxx., quos Dolabella ex Asia conscripserat, e Syria fugientes in Pamphyliam venerunt. Hi nuntiaverunt Dolabellam Antiocheam, quae in Syria est, venisse; non receptum conatum esse aliquoties vi introire; repulsum semper esse cum magno suo detrimento; itaque centum circiter amissis, aegris relictis, noctu Antiochea profugisse Laodiceam versus; ea nocte omnes fere Asiaticos milites ab eo discessisse, ex his ad octingentos Antiocheam rediisse et se iis tradidisse, qui a Cassio relicti urbi illi praeerant, ceteros per Amanum in Ciliciam descendisse;

[1] *Wesenberg*: praestiterunt . . . inierunt *MSS.*
[2] *Lambinus*: scelere *codd.*

of the commonwealth. As to the money, I shall collect as much of it as I can and as quickly as I can, and send it to you with an account of every transaction. When I have scoured the province, and discovered who kept faith with me and the Republic by safeguarding the money I had deposited, and who, by their scandalous conduct in freely presenting him with the public money, by virtue of such a gift entered into partnership with Dolabella in his crimes, I shall inform you further; and as to these men, if, should it so please you, you deal drastically with them, and so strengthen my hands with the weight of your authority, I can more easily collect the arrears of the revenue, and keep what I have collected. Meanwhile, to enable me with less trouble to protect the revenue and defend the province from outrage, I have enrolled an emergency guard of volunteers.

Since the above despatch was written about thirty 7
soldiers, enlisted by Dolabella in Asia and fleeing from Syria, came to Pamphylia. These men reported to us that Dolabella had arrived at Antiochea, which is in Syria; that being refused admission, he had tried several times to force an entrance; that he had invariably been repulsed with great loss to himself; and so after losing about 100 men, leaving his sick behind, he had fled from Antiochea in the direction of Laodicea under the cover of night; and on that same night practically all his Asiatic soldiers deserted him, but that some 800 of these had returned to Antiochea and surrendered to those whom Cassius had left in command of that city; that all the rest had passed over Mount Amanus[a] and descended into

[a] Which separates Cilicia from Syria.

quo ex numero se quoque esse dicebant; Cassium autem cum suis omnibus copiis nuntiatum esse quatridui iter Laodicea abfuisse, tum cum Dolabella eo tenderet. Quamobrem opinione celerius confido sceleratissimum latronem poenas daturum. Quarto Nonas Iunias, Pergae.

XVI

TREBONIUS CICERONI S.

Athenis, A.U.C. 710.

1 S.v.b.e. Athenas veni a. d. XI. Kal. Iun. atque ibi, quod maxime optabam, vidi filium tuum, deditum optimis studiis summaque modestiae fama. Qua ex re quantam voluptatem ceperim, scire potes, etiam me tacente. Non enim nescis, quanti te faciam et quam pro nostro veterrimo verissimoque amore omnibus tuis, etiam minimis, commodis, non modo tanto bono, gaudeam. Noli putare, mi Cicero, me hoc auribus tuis dare; nihil adulescente tuo, atque adeo nostro (nihil enim mihi a te potest esse seiunctum), aut amabilius omnibus iis, qui Athenis sunt, est aut studiosius earum artium, quas tu maxime amas, hoc est optimarum. Itaque tibi, quod vere facere possum, libenter quoque gratulor, nec minus etiam nobis, quod eum, quem necesse erat diligere, qualiscumque

[a] *i.e.*, the thirty soldiers mentioned at the beginning of this section, who made the report.

[b] For Trebonius see note to x. 28. 1.

Cilicia; and to this detachment they[a] declared that they themselves also belonged; and further that Cassius with all his forces was reported to be a few days' march from Laodicea at the very time when Dolabella was marching on that city. And that is why I feel sure that the most outrageous of ruffians will be brought to book sooner than people think. Perga, June 2nd.

XVI

TREBONIUS[b] TO CICERO

Athens, May 25th, 44 B.C.

If you are well, all is right. I arrived at Athens on May the 22nd and there, as I most particularly hoped to do, I saw your son, who is devoted to the best forms of study, and most highly spoken of for his discreet behaviour; and how much pleasure that gave me you can understand even if I say nothing. For you well know how highly I esteem you, and how much, as befits our very old and sincere affection, I rejoice in any, even the slightest, happiness that befalls you, not to speak of such a blessing as this. Do not think, my dear Cicero, that I am saying this to tickle your ears; your, or rather *our* young man (for there can be no severance of interests between us) is the most popular fellow in the world among all who are at Athens, and at the same time the most devoted to the arts you yourself love most, to wit, the best. I therefore congratulate you with pleasure also, as I can with sincerity, and myself too no less, on finding that he whom we were bound to love, what- 1

esset, talem habemus, ut libenter quoque diligamus.
2 Qui cum mihi in sermone iniecisset se velle Asiam visere, non modo invitatus, sed etiam rogatus est a me, ut id potissimum nobis obtinentibus provinciam faceret. Cui nos et caritate et amore tuum officium praestaturos non debes dubitare. Illud quoque erit nobis curae, ut Cratippus una cum eo sit, ne putes, in Asia feriatum illum ab iis studiis, in quae tua cohortatione incitatur, futurum. Nam illum paratum, ut video, et ingressum pleno gradu cohortari non intermittemus, quo in dies longius discendo exer-
3 cendoque se procedat. Vos quid ageretis in republica, cum has litteras dabam, non sciebam. Audiebam quaedam turbulenta, quae scilicet cupio esse falsa, ut aliquando otiosa libertate fruamur; quod vel minime mihi adhuc contigit. Ego tamen nactus in navigatione nostra pusillum laxamenti, concinnavi tibi munusculum ex instituto meo, et dictum, cum magno nostro honore a te dictum, conclusi et tibi infra subscripsi. In quibus versiculis si tibi quibusdam verbis εὐθυρρημονέστερος videbor, turpitudo personae eius, in quam liberius invehimur, nos vindicabit. Ignosces etiam iracundiae nostrae, quae iusta est in eiusmodi et homines et cives. Deinde, qui magis

[a] Cicero considered Cratippus the leading Peripatetic of the day, and had put his son under his tuition in Athens.

[b] Antony, on whom the *munusculum* was an attack.

[c] C. Lucilius, born in 148 B.C. As a Roman satirist he followed the Old Attic Comedy, and his style was subsequently developed by Horace, Persius, and Juvenal. He wrote thirty books of satires, of which some three hundred fragments have been preserved. His versification is rough, and his attacks upon the vices of his contemporaries are coarse and virulent, but of his powers as a satirist there can be no question.

ever his character, is the sort of man whom it is also a pleasure to love.

When he threw me a hint in the course of con- 2
versation that he would like to visit Asia, I not only invited him to come, but begged him to do so at the best time of all—while I was governing the province; and you must never doubt but that I shall do my duty by him, as you would yourself, with affection and love. Another thing too—I shall be careful to arrange that Cratippus[a] accompanies him, so that you need not think he will have a holiday in Asia from those studies to which he is being urged by your exhortations. For ready as I see he is, and well advanced at full stride, I shall never pause in my own exhortations to him to make further progress day after day in his studies and exercises.

As I despatch this letter I have no idea what you 3
at Rome are doing in the political world. I am told of certain tempestuous proceedings, which of course I hope is a false report, so that we may at last enjoy liberty in tranquillity—a blessing of which so far I have not had even the smallest experience. Anyhow I did manage to get just a bit of leisure during my voyage, and polished up a little present for you, as I had long intended to do. I have inserted in it a *bon mot* of yours which was highly complimentary to myself, and have attributed it to you in a foot-note. If it strikes you that some of my expressions in these little lines are too outspoken, the infamous personality of the man[b] I am attacking with such unusual freedom must be my justification; you will also pardon my passionate indignation, which is what one ought to feel against such people, whether as human beings or as citizens. Again, why should Lucilius[c]

hoc Lucilio licuerit assumere libertatis, quam nobis? cum, etiamsi odio pari fuerit in eos, quos laesit, tamen certe non magis dignos habuerit, in quos tanta
4 libertate verborum incurreret. Tu, sicut mihi pollicitus es, adiunges me quam primum ad tuos sermones. Namque illud non dubito, quin, si quid de interitu Caesaris scribas, non patiaris me minimam partem et rei et amoris tui ferre. Vale et matrem meosque tibi commendatos habe. D VIII. Kal. Iunias, Athenis.

XVII

CICERO S. D. CORNIFICIO COLLEGAE

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Grata mihi vehementer est memoria nostri tua, quam significasti litteris; quam ut conserves, non quo de tua constantia dubitem, sed quia mos est ita rogandi, rogo. Ex Syria nobis tumultuosiora quaedam nuntiata sunt; quae, quia tibi sunt propiora, quam nobis, tua me causa magis movent, quam mea.

[a] All Trebonius did on the Ides of March was to draw Antony aside from the Senate-house while Caesar was being murdered. Cicero had promised to insert his name in his dialogues.

[b] Q. Cornificius was a son of the Q. Cornificius who was tribune of the plebs in 69, and one of Cicero's competitors for the consulship in 64. This younger Cornificius was in 48 quaestor to Caesar, who in 45 appointed him governor of Syria, and in 44 governor of Africa Vetus, where he was at the time of Caesar's death. He maintained the province for the Senate until the establishment of the triumvirate, when he was defeated and slain by T. Sextius, assisted by the Numidian prince Arabio. At the time this letter was written Cornificius was governor of Cilicia, which post he held before Julius Caesar appointed him in 45 (as stated above) to the governorship of Syria. Cornificius was a man of some note in literature, especially as a poet, and is referred to by Catullus (38) and Ovid, and some commentators on Virgil maintain that he is the Codrus of the *Eclogues*. He was a fellow-member with Cicero of the College of Augurs. So in this and the next letter Cicero addresses him as *collega*.

have had a better right to assume so much freedom than myself? Since, although his hatred of those he assailed was as intense as my own, yet surely his victims did not more richly deserve the castigation of so unbridled a tongue.

You will, I am sure, according to your promise, add 4
my name as soon as possible to your dialogues.[a] Of this I have no doubt, that if you write at all about the death of Caesar, you will not let the part I play either in the achievement[a] or in your affection be the most insignificant. Farewell, and regard my mother and family as entrusted to your care. Athens, May 25th.

XVII

CICERO TO HIS COLLEAGUE Q. CORNIFICIUS[b]

Rome, about September, 46 B.C.

Your remembrance of me, as indicated by your 1
letter, gives me extreme pleasure, and I beg of you to keep it up; not that I doubt your constancy, but because such a request is customary. We have reports from Syria of some rather serious disturbances there, and as they touch you more nearly than they do me, they cause me more agitation on your account

Romae summum otium est, sed ita, ut malis salubre aliquod et honestum negotium, quod spero fore;
2 video id curae esse Caesari. Me scito, dum tu absis, quasi occasionem quamdam et licentiam nactum, scribere audacius; et cetera quidem fortasse, quae etiam tu concederes; sed proxime scripsi *de optimo genere dicendi*; in quo saepe suspicatus sum, te a iudicio nostro, sic scilicet, ut doctum hominem a non indocto, paullulum dissidere. Huic tu libro maxime velim ex animo, si minus, gratiae causa, suffragere. Dicam tuis, ut eum, si velint, describant ad teque mittant. Puto enim, etiamsi rem minus probaris, tamen in ista solitudine, quidquid a me profectum sit,
3 iucundum tibi fore. Quod mihi existimationem tuam dignitatemque commendas, facis tu quidem omnium more; sed velim sic existimes, me cum amori, quem inter nos mutuum esse intellegam, plurimum tribuam, tum de summo ingenio et de studiis tuis optimis et de spe amplissimae dignitatis ita iudicare, ut neminem tibi anteponam, comparem paucos.

[a] viz., the *Orator ad M. Brutum.*

than my own. At Rome there is complete inactivity, but the situation is such, that one would prefer a good, wholesome, honourable activity, and I hope it will come; I see that Caesar is bent upon it.

I would have you know, that taking advantage of 2
your absence as a sort of opportunity for using a free hand, I am writing with uncommon confidence; my other compositions are, I assure you, such as perhaps even you would not reject, but what I last wrote was a treatise *On the best style of speech*[a]—a subject on which I have often suspected you of being just a little at issue with my judgment—only so far of course as a man of learning can be at issue with one who is himself not unlearned. This book I should be glad if you would favour with your support, preferably out of conviction, failing that, as an act of kindness. I will tell your people, if they are so inclined, to copy it out, and send it to you. For I really think, even if it does not win your approval, so solitary are you, that whatever emanates from my pen will give you pleasure.

You commend to my charge your reputation and 3
position; well, you are only following the universal fashion. But what I would have you believe is just this—first, that I attach the highest possible importance to the affection between us, which I am convinced is mutual, and secondly, that my opinion of your consummate ability, your enthusiasm for all that is best, and your prospects of the most exalted position in the state, is such that I rank nobody above you, few on a level with you.

XVIII

CICERO S. D. CORNIFICIO COLLEGAE

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Quod extremum fuit in ea epistola, quam a te proxime accepi, ad id primum respondebo. Animum adverti enim, hoc vos magnos oratores facere nonnumquam. Epistolas requiris meas; ego autem numquam, cum mihi denuntiatum esset a tuis, ire aliquem, non dedi. Quod mihi videor ex tuis litteris intellegere, te nihil commissurum esse temere, nec ante quam scisses, quo iste nescio qui Caecilius Bassus erumperet, quidquam certi constituturum, id ego et speraram prudentia tua fretus, et, ut confiderem, fecerunt tuae gratissimae mihi litterae; idque ut facias quam saepissime, ut et quid tu agas et quid agatur scire possim et etiam quid acturus sis, valde te rogo. Etsi periniquo patiebar animo, te a me digredi, tamen eo tempore me consolabar, quod et in summum otium te ire arbitrabar et ab impendentibus
2 magnis negotiis discedere. Utrumque contra accidit; istic enim bellum est exortum, hic pax consecuta; sed tamen eiusmodi pax, in qua, si adesses, multa te non delectarent; ea tamen, quae ne ipsum Caesarem

[a] See note to xii. 11. 1.

XVIII

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, October (?), 46 or 45 B.C.

I shall reply first to what comes at the end of the letter I had last from you; for that I observe is what you great orators do now and again. You miss getting letters from me; now I have never failed to send you one, whenever your people have let me know that somebody is on his way. I seem to gather from your letters that you are not going to do anything without due consideration, nor determine upon any definite course of action before you have ascertained what direction the outbreak of that fellow Caecilius Bassus,[a] whoever he may be, is likely to take; well, that is just what I had hoped, relying on your sagacity, and now your letter, which gave me extreme pleasure, confirms my confidence; and I earnestly entreat you to write as frequently as possible, so that I may know what you are doing, what is being generally done, and also what you are going to do. Although I felt very keen regret at your leaving my side, still I found some comfort at the time in reflecting that where you were going there was complete tranquillity, and that what you were leaving was a heavy cloud of trouble hanging over our heads. 1

What happened in each case was just the reverse; 2
with you, a war has broken out; with us, war has been followed by peace, but peace of such a kind, that were you present, there are many points in it that would not please you, such indeed as do not

quidem delectant. Bellorum enim civilium ii semper exitus sunt, ut non ea solum fiant, quae velit victor, sed etiam ut iis mos gerendus sit, quibus adiutoribus sit parta victoria. Equidem sic iam obdurui, ut ludis Caesaris nostri aequissimo animo viderem T. Plancum, audirem Laberi et Publili poemata. Nihil mihi tam deesse scito, quam quicum haec familiariter docteque rideam. Is tu eris, si quam primum veneris. Quod ut facias, non mea solum, sed etiam tua interesse arbitror.

XIX

M. T. C. S. D. CORNIFICIO

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Libentissime legi tuas litteras; in quibus iucundissimum mihi fuit, quod cognovi meas tibi redditas esse. Non enim dubitabam, quin eas lubenter lecturus esses. Verebar, ut redderentur. Bellum, quod est in Syria, Syriamque provinciam tibi tributam esse a Caesare, ex tuis litteris cognovi. Eamdem rem tibi volo bene et feliciter evenire; quod ita fore
2 confido, fretus et industria et prudentia tua. Sed de Parthici belli suspicione quod scribis, sane me commovit. Quantum copiarum haberes, cum ipse coniectura consequi poteram, tum ex tuis litteris

[a] Probably the *Ludi Victoriae Caesaris* held in Sept., 46, in which case this letter must have been written in that year.
[b] T. Munatius Plancus Bursa, Cicero's *bête noire*. *Cf.* vii. 2. 2 and viii. 1. 5.
[c] Decimus Laberius was a knight whom Caesar had ordered to act in his own mimes in competition with Publilius Syrus. Tyrrell.

please even Caesar himself. For the issues of civil war are invariably such that it is not only the victor's wishes that are carried out, but those also have to be humoured by whose assistance the victory was won. As for myself, I have become so thick-skinned, that at our friend Caesar's games [a] I cast an eye upon T. Plancus [b] and listened to the poetry of Laberius and Publilius [c] without turning a hair. I assure you I need nothing so much as somebody to join me in chuckling over all this with an understanding wink. You are the very man, if only you come as soon as possible; and I think it as much to your interest as my own that you should do so.

XIX

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, month uncertain, 46 or 45 B.C.

I read your letter with the greatest pleasure; 1
what delighted me most in it was the information that you had received mine; I never doubted your reading it with pleasure, but I was afraid of its not being delivered. Your letter informs me that Caesar has made you responsible for the war in Syria, and the province of Syria itself. It is my desire that the same should turn out well and fortunately for you, and I am confident it will do so, having complete faith in your energy and sagacity.

I am much troubled, however, by what you write as 2
to your apprehension of a Parthian war. For what you had in the way of forces, I was both able to conjecture and was directly informed in your letter.

cognovi. Itaque opto, ne se illa gens moveat hoc tempore, dum ad te legiones eae perducantur, quas audio duci. Quod si pares copias ad confligendum non habebis, non te fugiet uti consilio M. Bibuli, qui se oppido munitissimo et copiosissimo tamdiu tenuit,
3 quamdiu in provincia Parthi fuerunt. Sed haec melius ex re et ex tempore constitues. Mihi quidem usque curae erit, quid agas, dum, quid egeris, sciero. Litteras ad te numquam habui cui darem, quin dederim. A te, ut idem facias, peto ; in primisque, ut ita ad tuos scribas, ut me tuum sciant esse.

XX

CICERO CORNIFICIO

Romae, A.U.C. 710.

Gratae mihi tuae litterae, nisi quod Sinuessanum deversoriolum contempsisti. Quam quidem contumeliam villa pusilla iniquo animo feret, nisi in Cumano et Pompeiano reddideris πάντα περὶ πάντων. Sic igitur facies, meque amabis et scripto aliquo lacesses. Ego enim respondere facilius possum, quam provocare. Quod si, ut es, cessabis, lacessam : nec tua ignavia etiam mihi[1] inertiam afferet. Plura otiosus. Haec, cum essem in senatu, exaravi.

[1] *Added by Lambinus.*

[a] Cicero in *Att.* vii. 2. 6 says of him, "he never set foot outside the gates (of Antioch) as long as the enemy was on this side the Euphrates." This was when Syria, under the governorship of Bibulus, and Cilicia, under that of Cicero, were threatened by an invasion of the Parthians in 51-50.

[b] One of the numerous houses at which Cicero could spend the night on his way from one of his great villas to another.

I therefore pray that no movement will be made by that nation at the present time—I mean until those legions reach you, which I am told are being marched up. But if you possess no forces to match the enemy in the field, I am sure you will not forget to pursue the policy of M. Bibulus,[a] who confined himself to a strongly fortified and well provisioned town during the whole time the Parthians were in the province.

But all this you will arrange better for yourself, 3
according to time and circumstances. I shall myself never cease to be anxious as to what you are doing, until I know what you have done. On no occasion, when I have found anybody by whom I could send you a letter, have I omitted to do so. I beg of you to do the same, and most particularly to write to your friends in such a way as to convince them that I too am your friend.

XX

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, early in 46 (?) B.C.

Your letter pleased me, except that you expressed contempt for my little lodgings at Sinuessa,[b]—an insult which will be bitterly resented by my tiny little villa, unless you make the *amende honorable* at my Cuman or Pompeian house. You will therefore do so, and show your love for me, and stir me up by writing something ; for I can more easily reply to a challenge than offer one. But if you are lazy—and that's what you are—I shall do the stirring up, and your lethargy will not infect me too with indolence. More when I have leisure. I am in the Senate as I jot this down.

XXI

M. T. C. S. D. CORNIFICIO

Romae, A.U.C. 710.

Gaius Anicius, familiaris meus, vir omnibus rebus ornatus, negotiorum suorum causa legatus est in Africam legatione libera. Eum velim rebus omnibus adiuves, operamque des, ut quam commodissime sua negotia conficiat; in primisque, quod ei carissimum est, dignitatem eius tibi commendo; idque a te peto, quod ipse in provincia facere sum solitus non rogatus, ut omnibus senatoribus lictores darem; quod idem acceperam et cognoveram a summis viris factitatum. Hoc igitur, mi Cornifici, facies, ceterisque rebus omnibus eius dignitati reique, si me amas, consules. Id erit mihi gratissimum. Da operam, ut valeas.

XXII

M. T. C. S. P. D. CORNIFICIO

Romae, A.U.C. 710.

1 Nos hic cum homine gladiatore, omnium nequissimo collega nostro, Antonio, bellum gerimus, sed non

[a] For Anicius's extreme intimacy with Cicero see vii. 26. 2. As he was granted a *libera legatio* he must have been a senator.

[b] A legal fiction whereby a senator could leave Rome and travel with greater comfort. It was only granted to senators, who thus travelled at the expense of the State. Cicero, when consul, endeavoured to check this abuse, but only succeeded in limiting a *libera legatio* to a single year. See note *a* on p. 428.

[c] In the augurate.

XXI

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, in the spring of 44 B.C.

My intimate friend C. Anicius,[a] a most accomplished gentleman in every respect, has been allowed to visit Africa on an unofficial embassy [b] in connexion with some private negotiations of his own. I should like you to give him every assistance, and do your best to enable him to complete his negotiations as satisfactorily as possible, and more particularly, because it is a thing most precious in his eyes, do I commend to you the care of his prestige; and I beg of you to do what I myself always did in my province without being asked—I assigned lictors to all senators; it is an honour I had received myself, and I knew it to be the constant practice of the most distinguished men to confer it. You will, therefore, I am sure, do so, my dear Cornificius, and in every other respect, as you love me, promote his prestige and material interests. I shall be most grateful to you if you do so. Make a point of keeping well.

XXII

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, after December 20th, 44 B.C.

We are waging war here with a cut-throat, the 1
greatest scoundrel in the world, and a colleague of ours [c] to boot—Antony; but not on equal terms—it

pari condicione, contra arma verbis. At etiam de te contionatur, nec impune; nam sentiet, quos lacessierit. Ego autem acta ad te omnia arbitror perscribi ab aliis; a me futura debes cognoscere,
2 quorum quidem non est difficilis coniectura. Oppressa omnia sunt, nec habent ducem boni; nostrique τυραννοκτόνοι longe gentium absunt. Pansa et sentit bene et loquitur fortiter; Hirtius noster tardius convalescit. Quid futurum sit, plane nescio. Spes tamen una est, aliquando populum Romanum maiorum similem fore. Ego certe reipublicae non deero, et, quidquid acciderit, a quo mea culpa absit, animo forti feram. Illud profecto, quoad potero, tuam
3 famam et dignitatem tuebor. A. d. XIII. Kalendas Ianuar. senatus frequens mihi est assensus cum de ceteris rebus magnis et necessariis, tum de provinciis ab iis, qui obtinerent, retinendis neque cuiquam tradendis, nisi qui ex senatus consulto successisset. Hoc ego cum reipublicae causa censui, tum, mehercule, in primis retinendae dignitatis tuae. Quamobrem te amoris nostri causa rogo, reipublicae causa hortor, ut ne cui quidquam iuris in tua provincia esse patiare, atque ut omnia referas ad dignitatem,
4 qua nihil potest esse praestantius. Vere tecum agam,

[a] M. Brutus was in Macedonia, Cassius in Syria, Trebonius in Asia, D. Brutus in Cisalpine Gaul.

[b] "And be guided in every action by regard for your position." Watson.

is words against swords. Why, he even addresses public meetings about you, but not with impunity; he will find to his cost what sort of men he has provoked. But I suppose that whatever has occurred is being fully reported to you by others; from me you have a right to learn what is going to happen, and about that it is not hard to form at any rate a guess.

All is downcast, and the loyalists have nobody to 2
lead them, while our tyrannicides[a] are in distant lands. Pansa is sound in sentiment and courageous in speech; our friend Hirtius is making but a slow recovery. What is going to happen I really do not know. Our one hope, however, is that the Roman people will at last prove themselves not unworthy of their ancestors. Myself, I shall never fail the State, and shall bear with a stout heart whatever befalls, provided it is through no fault of my own. This much I shall assuredly do to the best of my ability—I shall uphold your good name and position.

On the 20th of December a full Senate approved 3
my proposals about other important and essential matters, and also about the provinces being retained by those who held them, and not being handed over to any successor unless appointed by a decree of the Senate. This course I proposed not only in the public interest, but most particularly, I solemnly assure you, for the purpose of maintaining your position. And that is why I entreat you in the name of our mutual affection, and exhort you in the name of the Republic, to allow nobody to have any sort of jurisdiction in your province, and to apply to all you do the test of your position,[b] than which nothing in the world stands higher.

I will deal frankly with you, as our close friendship 4

ut necessitudo nostra postulat; in Sempronio, si meis litteris obtemperasses, maximam ab omnibus laudem adeptus esses. Sed illud et praeteriit et levius est. Haec magna res est; fac ut provinciam retineas in potestate reipublicae. Plura scripsissem, nisi tui festinarent. Itaque Chaerippo nostro me velim excuses.

XXIII

M. T. C. S. D. CORNIFICIO

Romae, A.U.C. 710.

1 Omnem conditionem imperi tui statumque provinciae mihi demonstravit Tratorius. O multa intolerabilia locis omnibus! Sed quo tua maior dignitas, eo, quae tibi acciderunt, minus ferenda; neque enim, quae tu propter magnitudinem et animi et ingeni moderate fers, a te non ulciscenda sunt, etiam-
2 si non sunt dolenda. Sed haec posterius. Rerum urbanarum acta tibi mitti certo scio. Quod ni ita putarem, ipse perscriberem, in primisque Caesaris Octaviani conatum; de quo multitudini fictum ab Antonio crimen videtur, ut in pecuniam adulescentis impetum faceret. Prudentes autem et boni viri et

[a] It is not known what this was. Sempronius is probably the Rufus mentioned in viii. 8. 2 *seqq.*

[b] Chaerippus was a *comes* of Q. Cicero when governor of Asia, and was also a friend of Marcus. See xii. 30. 2.

[c] Probably a legate of Cornificius. Cornificius had succeeded C. Calvisius Sabinus as governor of Africa at the beginning of the year. Antony had now sent out Calvisius to supersede him, but Cornificius maintained his position.

[d] *i.e.*, on the life of Antony. It was made on Oct. 5th or 6th.

demands; had you only obeyed the instructions I sent you in the matter[a] of Sempronius, you would have gained unqualified and universal applause. But that is over and done with, and comparatively of slight importance, whereas this is a matter of moment—mind you keep your province in the power of the Republic.

I should have written more, had not your messengers been in a hurry. So pray make my excuses to our friend Chaerippus.[b]

XXIII

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, middle of October, 44 B.C.

The whole character of your governorship and the 1
whole situation in your province has been clearly explained to me by Tratorius.[c] Oh, the many insufferable insults, here and there and everywhere! But the more exalted your position, the less to be endured is all that has happened to you; for what, thanks to your greatness of heart and intellect, you bear with self-restraint, you must not allow to go unavenged, even if it is right that you should feel no resentment. But more of this later on.

I am well aware that the record of transactions in 2
the City is being sent to you. Did I not think so, I should myself write you a full account of them, and especially of the attempt made by Caesar Octavian.[d] As to that, the rank and file think it was a charge trumped up by Antony as an excuse for raiding the young man's property; men of penetration and

credunt factum et probant. Quid quaeris? magna spes est in eo. Nihil est, quod non existimetur laudis et gloriae causa facturus. Antonius autem, noster familiaris, tanto se odio esse intellegit, ut, cum interfectores suos domi comprenderit, rem proferre non audeat. A. d. VII. Idus Octobr. Brundisium erat profectus obviam legionibus Macedonicis IV., quas sibi conciliare pecunia cogitabat, easque ad Urbem
3 adducere et in cervicibus nostris collocare. Habes formam reipublicae, si in castris potest esse respublica; in qua tuam vicem saepe doleo, quod nullam partem per aetatem sanae et salvae reipublicae gustare potuisti. Atque antehac quidem sperare saltem licebat; nunc etiam id ereptum est. Quae enim est spes, cum in contione dicere ausus sit Antonius, Cannutium apud eos sibi locum quaerere, quibus se salvo locus in civitate esse non posset?
4 Equidem et haec et omnia, quae homini accidere possunt, sic fero, ut philosophiae magnam habeam gratiam, quae me non modo ab sollicitudine abducit, sed etiam contra omnes fortunae impetus armat; tibique idem censeo faciundum, nec, a quo culpa absit, quidquam in malis numerandum. Sed haec tu melius. Tratorium nostrum cum semper pro-

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[a] A bitter enemy of Antony. *Cf.* note on xii. 3. 2.

patriots, however, not only believe it is true, but give it their approval. In short, there is much to hope for in him. There is nothing he is not expected to do for the sake of honour and glory. Our "dear friend" Antony, on the other hand, knows himself to be so cordially detested that, though he caught the murderers in his own house, he does not dare to make the matter public. On the 9th of October he started for Brundisium to meet the four Macedonian legions which it was his intention to win over to his side by bribes of money, and then bring them to Rome, and fasten them firmly round our necks.

Such, then, is the form of our constitution, if a 3
"constitution" is possible in a camp. And in this connexion I am often sorry on your account that your age has made it impossible for you to have even relished the flavour of a safe and sound constitution. Besides it has hitherto been permissible at any rate to hope; but now even that boon has been snatched away. For what hope is there, when Antony has dared to say in a public meeting "Cannutius[a] is trying to find a place for himself among men, for whom, if I am alive, there cannot possibly be any room in the state"?

For my part, my endurance of this and all other 4
evils that can befall a human being, makes me feel profoundly grateful to the philosophy which not only distracts my thoughts from anxiety, but also arms me against all the slings and arrows of fortune; and in my opinion you should do the same, and not count as a misfortune anything that is free from self-reproach. But you know all this better than I do.

As for our friend Tratorius, though I had always

bassem, tum maxime in tuis rebus summam eius fidem, diligentiam, prudentiamque cognovi. Da operam, ut valeas. Hoc mihi gratius facere nihil potes.

XXIV

M. T. C. S. P. D. CORNIFICIO

Romae, A.U.C. 711.

1 Ego nullum locum praetermitto (nec enim debeo) non modo laudandi tui, sed ne ornandi quidem. Sed mea studia erga te et officia malo tibi ex tuorum litteris, quam ex meis, esse nota. Te tamen hortor, ut omni cura in rempublicam incumbas. Hoc est animi, hoc est ingeni tui, hoc eius spei, quam habere
2 debes, amplificandae dignitatis tuae. Sed hac de re alias ad te pluribus. Cum enim haec scribebam, in exspectatione erant omnia. Nondum legati redierant, quos senatus non ad pacem deprecandam, sed ad denuntiandum bellum miserat, nisi legatorum nuntio paruisset. Ego tamen, ut primum occasio data est, meo pristino more rempublicam defendi; me principem senatui populoque Romano professus sum, nec postea quam suscepi causam libertatis, mini-

[a] *i.e.*, Antony. For the situation see the "Summary of the Cisalpine Campaign" at the beginning of Bk. X. It was on this embassy that Servius Sulpicius died.

thought highly of him, I have appreciated more than ever his exceptional honesty, thoroughness, and sagacity in the conduct of your affairs. Do all you can to keep well. You can do nothing that would please me more than that.

XXIV

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, end of January, 43 B.C.

I omit no opportunity, and it is but right of me, 1
not only of extolling you, but even of conferring distinctions upon you. But I prefer that my acts of devotion and kindness to you should be brought to your notice by your friends' letters rather than by my own. None the less do I urge you to throw yourself whole-heartedly into the cause of the Republic. This is what accords with your spirit and with your ability; with the hopes too, which you have a right to entertain, of enhancing the dignity of your position.

But of this at another time, and more fully; for as 2
I write these words, there is a universal feeling of expectancy. The ambassadors have not yet returned, whom the Senate sent, not to supplicate for peace, but to declare war, unless he complied with the message they brought him.[a] Anyhow I myself, as soon as the opportunity offered itself, championed the cause of the Republic quite in my old style; I declared myself a leader for the Senate and people to follow; and ever since I undertook the cause of liberty, I have not lost a single moment in upholding

mum tempus amisi tuendae salutis libertatisque com-
3 munis. Sed haec quoque te ex aliis malo. T. Pinarium, familiarissimum meum, tanto tibi studio commendo, ut maiore non possim; cui cum propter omnes virtutes, tum etiam propter studia communia, sum amicissimus. Is procurat rationes negotiaque Dionysi nostri, quem et tu multum amas, et ego omnium plurimum. Ea tibi ego non debeo commendare, sed commendo tamen. Facies igitur, ut ex Pinari, gratissimi hominis, litteris tuum et erga illum et erga Dionysium studium perspiciamus.

XXVA

M. T. C. S. P. D. CORNIFICIO

Romae, A.U.C. 711.

1 Liberalibus litteras accepi tuas, quas mihi Cornificius altero vicesimo die, ut dicebat, reddidit. Eo die non fuit senatus, neque postero. Quinquatribus frequenti senatu causam tuam egi, non invita Minerva. Etenim eo ipso die senatus decrevit, ut Minerva nostra, custos Urbis, quam turbo deiecerat, restitueretur. Pansa tuas litteras recitavit. Magna senatus approbatio consecuta est cum summo gaudio,

[a] Cicero was very fond of Pinarius; elsewhere (*Q. Fr.* iii. 1. 22) he writes of him "is homo semper me delectavit," "I have always found that man delightful."
[b] Probably the tutor of the two young Ciceros.
[c] *i.e.*, on March 17th.
[d] The Quinquatria, a festival in honour of Minerva, answering in some respects to our Easter holidays, were held on March 19-23.

the safety and liberty of the community. But this also I prefer that you should learn from others.

My very dear friend T. Pinarius [a] I cannot com- 3
mend to you more enthusiastically than I do; I am on the most friendly terms with him, as much for all his admirable qualities, as for the tastes we have in common. He is now agent in charge of the accounts and business transactions of our friend Dionysius,[b] whom you love much, and I love more than anybody. It should not be necessary for me to make this recommendation to you, but I make it all the same. You will, therefore, I am sure, see to it that the letters of that most grateful of men, Pinarius, convince me of your devotion, both to himself and to Dionysius.

XXVA

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, about March 20th, 43 B.C.

It was on the Liberalia [c] that I received your letter 1
which young Cornificius delivered to me, as he told me, on the 22nd day. There was no Senate on that or the following day. During the Quinquatria [d] I pleaded your cause before a full house, not without the blessing of Minerva. It was on that very day in fact that the Senate decreed the restoration of my statue of Minerva [e] which had been thrown down by a hurricane. Pansa read out your despatch. The Senate immediately signified its warm approval, to my great delight and the disgust of the Minotaur, to

[e] A statue of Minerva set up in the Capitol by Cicero just before he was exiled.

et offensione Minotauri, id est, Calvisi et Tauri. Factum de te senatus consultum honorificum. Postulabatur autem, ut etiam illi notarentur; sed Pansa
2 clementior. Ego, mi Cornifici, quo die primum in spem libertatis ingressus sum, et cunctantibus ceteris a. d. XIII. Kal. Ian. fundamenta ieci reipublicae, eo ipso die providi multum atque habui rationem dignitatis tuae. Mihi enim est assensus senatus de obtinendis provinciis. Nec vero postea destiti labefactare eum, qui summa cum tua iniuria, contumeliaque reipublicae, provinciam absens obtinebat. Itaque crebras, vel potius quotidianas, compellationes meas non tulit, seque in Urbem recepit invitus; neque solum spe, sed certa re iam et possessione deturbatus est meo iustissimo honestissimoque convicio. Te tuam dignitatem summa tua virtute tenuisse provinciaeque honoribus amplissimis affec-
3 tum, vehementer gaudeo. Quod te mihi de Sempronio purgas, accipio excusationem. Fuit enim illud quoddam caecum[1] tempus servitutis. Ego tuorum consiliorum auctor dignitatisque fautor, iratus temporibus, in Graeciam desperata libertate rapiebar,

[1] *H.D.*: Graecum *M*: taetrum *Orelli*.

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[a] These two men acting in concert were nicknamed "the Minotaur," as a firm of two. For Calvisius (consul in 39) see note on 23. 1. T. Statilius Taurus had been appointed *legatus* to Calvisius as governor of Africa; he was consul in 37 and 26, and was governor of Africa in 36, of Dalmatia in 34, and of Tarraconensis in 29. He commanded Octavian's land forces at Actium in 30.

[b] Confirming Cornificius in his governorship of Africa.

[c] The day on which Cicero delivered *Phil.* iii. and iv.

[d] *i.e.*, Calvisius.

[e] See notes on 22. 4 and 29. 2.

wit, Calvisius and Taurus.[a] A decree of the Senate was passed about you,[b] couched in complimentary terms. A demand was made, however, that those two men should actually be formally censured, but Pansa took a more lenient view.

For myself, my dear Cornificius, on the day I first 2
conceived the hope of liberty, and, though everybody else hesitated (it was on the 20th of December[c]), laid the foundations of a constitution, on that very day, I say, I showed great foresight and consideration for your position; indeed it was for my motion on the retention of the provinces that the Senate voted. And it is a fact that from that day I have never ceased from undermining the influence of one[d] who, to your great injury, and to the disgrace of the Republic, was holding on to his province as an absolute governor. The consequence was, that he could not stand my frequent, or rather daily, animadversions, and came back to Rome, all against his will; and was thus ignominiously evicted not only from an ambition, but from what was now a certainty and a secure tenancy, by my most righteous and dignified, but uncompromising reproaches. That you by your extraordinary courage should have maintained your position, and been the recipient of the most handsome marks of distinction at the hands of the province, is extremely gratifying to me.

You apologize to me about Sempronius,[e] and I 3
accept your explanation; it was certainly in the dark days of servitude that it happened. Here was I, the promoter of your measures and the supporter of your position, exasperated by the state of affairs and despairing of liberty, making a rush for it to Greece,

cum me etesiae, quasi boni cives, relinquentem rempublicam prosequi noluerunt, austerque adversus maximo flatu me ad tribules tuos Rhegium rettulit, atque inde ventis remis in patriam omni festinatione properavi, postridieque in summa reliquorum servi-
4 tute liber unus fui. Sic sum in Antonium invectus, ut ille non ferret, omnemque suum vinolentum furorem in me unum effunderet, meque cum elicere vellet ad caedis causam, tum tentaret insidiis; quem ego ructantem et nauseantem conieci in Caesaris Octaviani plagas. Puer enim egregius praesidium sibi primum et nobis, deinde summae reipublicae comparavit; qui nisi fuisset, Antoni reditus a Brundisio pestis patriae fuisset. Quae deinceps acta
5 sint, scire te arbitror. Sed redeamus ad illud, unde divertimus. Accipio excusationem tuam de Sempronio. Neque enim statuti quid in tanta perturbatione habere potuisti.

> Nunc hic dies aliam vitam defert, alios mores postulat,

ut ait Terentius. Quamobrem, mi Quinte, conscende nobiscum, et quidem ad puppim. Una navis est iam bonorum omnium, quam quidem nos damus operam ut rectam teneamus. Utinam prospero cursu! Sed quicumque venti erunt, ars nostra certe non aberit. Quid enim praestare aliud virtus potest? Tu fac

[a] Winds that blow from the N.W. for forty days in summer in the Levant. *Cf.* ii. 15. 5.

[b] *Andr.* i. 2. 18.

when the Etesian gales,[a] like loyal citizens, because I was leaving the Republic behind, refused to waft me on my way, and a south wind dead against me carried me back at full blast to your fellow-tribesmen at Rhegium; and from there I hurried at full speed, oar and sail, to my fatherland, and on the next day I found myself the one free man, where everybody else was sunk in slavery.

The attack I made upon Antony was more than he 4
could stand, and he vented all his drunken frenzy upon my poor head alone, and was not only anxious to entice me into giving him an excuse for bloodshed, but tried to ensnare me; so I bundled him, belching and vomiting, into the toils of Caesar Octavianus; for that excellent lad collected a defensive force, in the first instance for himself and for us, and then for the whole body politic; and, but for him, Antony's return from Brundisium would have been a curse to the country. What was done subsequently I think you know.

But—to return to the point from which I digressed 5
—I accept your explanation about Sempronius; for you could have had no cut-and-dried policy when all was chaos—

> Different the life of nowadays, which cries aloud for different ways,

as Terence remarks.[b] Therefore, my dear Quintus, join us on board—why, you may even take the helm! There is but one ship now for all patriots, and we are doing what we can to keep her on a straight course. Heaven grant us a prosperous voyage! But whatever winds may blow, such skill as I have will not be wanting. What else can the best of motives guarantee? As for yourself, be sure to keep a bold

magno animo sis et excelso, cogitesque omnem dignitatem tuam cum republica coniunctam esse debere.

XXVb

Romae, paulo post XXVa scriptum.

6 P. Lucceium mihi meum commendas, quem, quibuscumque rebus potero, diligenter tuebor. Hirtium quidem et Pansam, collegas nostros, homines in consulatu reipublicae salutares, alieno sane tempore amisimus, republica Antoniano quidem latrocinio liberata, sed nondum omnino explicata; quam nos, si licebit, more nostro tuebimur, quamquam admodum sumus iam defetigati. Sed nulla lassitudo
7 impedire officium et fidem debet. Verum haec hactenus. Ab aliis te de me, quam a me ipso, malo cognoscere. De te audiebamus ea, quae maxime vellemus. De Cn. Minucio, quem tu quibusdam litteris ad caelum laudibus extulisti, rumores duriores erant. Id quale sit, omninoque, quid istic agatur, facias me velim certiorem.

[a] The two sections 6 and 7 which constitute this letter are obviously in the nature of a postscript to the preceding letter which was written about March 25th, whereas these sections were written in May, after the death of the consuls.

[b] Only mentioned here and in 30. 5.

[c] The reference is obscure. He was possibly a government official in Africa.

and high spirit, and to reflect that the whole question of your position ought to be closely bound up with the interests of the Republic.

XXVb

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, early in May, 43 B.C.[a]

You commend to me my friend P. Lucceius,[b] and 6
in whatever way I can, I shall keep a careful eye upon him. It is true that we have lost Hirtius and Pansa, colleagues of ours, and men who did good sound work for the Republic during their consulship, at a most inauspicious time, when the Republic, though delivered from the freebooting of Antony, had not entirely extricated herself. That Republic, if I am so privileged, I shall defend after my fashion, although I now feel utterly tired out; but no amount of fatigue should hinder a man from doing his duty and keeping his word.

But no more of this for the present. I prefer that 7
your information about me should come from others rather than from myself. The news I hear of you is all that I could desire. The rumours about Cn. Minucius,[c] the man you lauded up to the skies in some of your letters, are less favourable. I should be glad if you would inform me as to the true nature of that business, and generally, as to what is being done in your part of the world.

XXVI

CICERO S. D. CORNIFICIO

Romae, A.U.C. 711.

1 Q. Turius, qui in Africa negotiatus est, vir bonus et honestus, heredes fecit similes sui, Cn. Saturninum, Sex. Aufidium, C. Anneium, Q. Considium Gallum, L. Servilium Postumum, C. Rubellium. Ex eorum oratione intellexi, gratiarum actione eos magis egere, quam commendatione. Tanta enim liberalitate se tua usos praedicabant, ut iis plus a te tributum intellegerem, quam ego te auderem rogare. Audebo
2 tamen. Scio enim, quantum ponderis mea commendatio sit habitura. Quare a te peto, ut ad eam liberalitatem, qua sine meis litteris usus es, quam maximus his litteris cumulus accedat. Caput autem est meae commendationis, ne patiare, Erotem Turium, Q. Turi libertum, ut adhuc fecit, hereditatem Turianam avertere, ceterisque omnibus rebus habeas eos a me commendatissimos. Magnam ex eorum splendore et observantia capies voluptatem. Quod ut velis, te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo.

[a] We know nothing more of Turius, or of any of the others mentioned in this letter.
[b] See note *b* to the next letter.

XXVI

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, in the spring of 43 B.C.

Q. Turius,[a] who has had banking business in Africa, 1
a sterling and honourable man, has made certain men in the same line of business his heirs; they are Cn. Saturninus, Sex. Aufidius, C. Anneius, Q. Considius Gallus, L. Servilius Postumus, and C. Rubellius. I understood from what they told me that what they want is more a letter of thanks to you than a recommendation from me. For they declared that they had found you so remarkably generous in your treatment of them, that I gathered you had already bestowed more upon them than I should dare
to ask of you. I shall dare, nevertheless; for I know 2
how much weight a recommendation of mine is likely to carry. I therefore beg of you, in view of this letter, to enhance the generosity you have already shown without any letter from me by making as handsome an addition to it as you can. Now the head and front of my recommendation is that you do not allow Eros Turius, Q. Turius's freedman, to convert to his own uses, as he has hitherto done, the latter's legacy, and that you should regard these men in all other respects as being most cordially commended by me. You will derive much pleasure from their distinguished rank [b] and their respectful deference to you. I earnestly beg you again and again to be good enough to do so.

XXVII

M. T. C. S. P. D. Q. CORNIFICIO

Romae, A.U.C. 711.

Sex. Aufidius et observantia, qua me colit, accedit ad proximos, et splendore equitis Romani nemini cedit. Est autem ita temperatis moderatisque moribus, ut summa severitas summa cum humanitate iungatur. Cuius tibi negotia, quae sunt in Africa, ita commendo, ut maiore studio magisve ex animo commendare non possim. Pergratum mihi feceris, si dederis operam, ut is intellegat, meas apud te litteras maximum pondus habuisse. Hoc te vehementer, mi Cornifici, rogo.

XXVIII

M. T. C. S. P. D. Q. CORNIFICIO

Romae, A.U.C. 711.

1 Assentior tibi, eos, quos scribis Lilybaeo minari, istic poenas dare debuisse; sed metuisti, ut ais, ne nimis liber in ulciscendo viderere. Metuisti igitur, ne gravis civis, ne nimis fortis, ne nimis te dignus
2 viderere. Quod societatem reipublicae conservandae

[a] One of the heirs of Turius, mentioned in the preceding letter.

[b] Under the empire knights who possessed the senatorial census, but chose to remain within the equestrian rank (as, *e.g.*, Maecenas did), were entitled *illustres*, *primores*, or *splendidi*. Tyrrell.

[c] Certain mercenaries of Antony appear to have attempted the seizure of Lilybaeum in Sicily; these Cornificius had captured, but dismissed unpunished.

XXVII

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, the spring of 43 B.C.

Sextus Aufidius,[a] in the respect and attention he shows me, comes very near my closest friends, and he yields to nobody in his distinction as a Roman knight.[b] His character too is so delicately poised and controlled that it combines the most rigid strictness with the most engaging kindliness. I could not commend to your charge his business transactions in Africa with greater earnestness or more cordially than I do. I shall be extremely obliged to you, if you do your best to make him realize how much weight you have attached to my letter. This, my dear Cornificius, I urgently press you to do.

XXVIII

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, the latter part of March, 43 B.C.

I quite agree with you, that the men who, as you 1
write, are threatening Lilybaeum,[c] ought to have been punished on the spot; but you were afraid, you say, of being thought too arbitrary in exacting vengeance. It comes to this, that you were afraid of being thought a sterling member of the State, of being thought too fearless, too worthy of yourself.
It gratifies me that you should renew your partner- 2
ship with me, a partnership you inherited from your

tibi mecum a patre acceptam renovas, gratum est; quae societas inter nos semper, mi Cornifici, manebit. Gratum etiam illud, quod mihi tuo nomine gratias agendas non putas; nec enim id inter nos facere debemus. Senatus saepius pro dignitate tua appellaretur, si, absentibus consulibus, umquam, nisi ad rem novam, cogeretur. Itaque nec de HS xx., nec de HS DCC., quidquam agi nunc per senatum potest. Tibi autem ex senatus consulto imperandum mutuumque sumendum censeo.
3 In republica quid agatur, credo te ex eorum litteris cognoscere, qui ad te acta debent perscribere. Ego sum spe bona; consilio, cura, labore non desum; omnibus inimicis reipublicae esse me acerrimum hostem prae me fero. Res neque nunc difficili loco mihi videtur esse, et fuisset facillimo, si culpa a quibusdam abfuisset.

XXIX

M. T. C. S. P. D. Q. CORNIFICIO

Romae, A.U.C. 711.

1 Non modo tibi, cui omnia nostra notissima sunt, sed neminem in populo Romano arbitror esse, cui sit

[a] Two grants, no doubt for different purposes, for which Cornificius had applied.

[b] Probably the decree annually passed *de ornandis provinciis consularibus*.

[c] He probably means Calenus, Piso, Servilius, and other opponents of his.

father, in the preservation of the Republic; and that partnership between us, my dear Cornificius, will last for ever. I am gratified too that you should not think it necessary to thank me on your own account; you and I should not do that sort of thing. The Senate would be more frequently approached on behalf of your claims, if, in the absence of the consuls, it could ever be summoned at all, except to meet some sudden emergency. Consequently nothing can now be done through the Senate as regards the 20,000, or the 700,000 sesterces.[a] I think, however, that in accordance with the original decree of the Senate[b] you ought to requisition the money or raise a loan for the amount.

What is being done in the political world, I imagine 3
you are told in the letters of those whose duty it is to send you full accounts of the public proceedings. Myself, I am full of hope. I am not behindhand in giving advice, in seeing to things being done, and doing things myself; I am proud of the fact that all the foes of the commonwealth find in me their most redoubtable enemy. The general situation does not strike me as being difficult at the moment, and it would have presented no difficulty whatever, had the behaviour of certain people[c] been beyond reproach.

XXIX

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, the spring of 43 B.C.

Not only you, who know so well all about me, but 1
every single man, I believe, among the people of

ignota ea familiaritas, quae mihi cum L. Lamia est. Etenim magno theatro spectata est tum, cum est ab Gabinio consule relegatus, quod libere et fortiter salutem meam defendisset. Nec ex eo amor inter nos natus est; sed quod erat vetus et magnus, propterea nullum periculum pro me adire dubitavit. Ad haec officia vel merita potius iucundissima consuetudo accedit, ut nullo prorsus plus homine delecter. Non puto te iam exspectare, quibus eum tibi verbis commendem. Causa enim tanti amoris intellegis quae verba desideret; iis me omnibus usum
2 putato. Tantum velim existimes, si negotia Lamiae, procuratores, libertos, familiam, quibuscumque rebus opus erit, defenderis, gratius mihi futurum, quam si ea tua liberalitas pertinuisset ad rem familiarem meam; nec dubito, quin sine mea commendatione, quod tuum est iudicium de hominibus, ipsius Lamiae causa studiose omnia facturus sis; quamquam erat nobis dictum, te existimare, alicui senatus consulto, quod contra dignitatem tuam fieret, scribendo Lamiam adfuisse, qui omnino consulibus illis numquam fuit ad scribendum; deinde omnia tum falsa senatus consulta deferebantur. Nisi forte etiam illi Semproniano senatus consulto me censes adfuisse,

[a] See note on xi. 16. 2.

[b] Possibly that Cornificius should be superseded by Calvisius. Cornificius had presumably accused Cicero of having been present when he was not. But all this is mere conjecture.

Rome, is aware of my intimate friendship with L. Lamia.[a] Indeed it was exhibited on a world-wide stage at the time when he was banished by the consul Gabinius, on the grounds that he had advocated my restoration with independence and courage. And it was not from that incident that our mutual affection sprang; no, it was of long standing and strong, and that was the reason why there was no risk he hesitated to run on my behalf. To these kindnesses, or rather most acceptable services, are added the bonds of constant intimacy, so that there is absolutely nobody in the world who attracts me more. After that I do not suppose you are waiting to see what words I use in commending him to you. You know what words meet the case of so warm an affection; well, all those words you must imagine me to have used.

This much I should like you to believe, that if you 2
protect Lamia's business interests, agents, freedmen, and slaves in whatever way is necessary, it will give me greater pleasure than if that generosity of yours had been extended to my own estate; and I have no doubt that, even without any commendation from me, good judge of men as you are, you are sure to do all I ask with the greatest pleasure for the sake of Lamia himself; and yet (so I have been told) you are under the impression that Lamia witnessed the drafting of some decree of the Senate which adversely affected your political position—Lamia, who was never present at any drafting at all during the consulship of those two men; and in the second place, all the decrees of the Senate deposited at that time were forged—unless of course you suppose that I was witness to the notorious decree of the Senate proposed by Sempronius[b]—I who was not even in Rome at the

qui ne Romae quidem tum fui, deque eo ad te scripsi,
3 re recenti. Sed haec hactenus. Te, mi Cornifici, etiam atque etiam rogo, ut omnia Lamiae negotia mea putes esse curesque, ut intellegat hanc commendationem maximo sibi usui fuisse. Hoc mihi gratius facere nihil potes. Cura, ut valeas.

XXX

M. T. C. S. P. D. CORNIFICIO

Romae, A.U.C. 711.

1 Itane? praeter litigatores nemo ad te meas litteras? Multae istae quidem; tu enim perfecisti, ut nemo sine litteris meis tibi se commendatum putaret; sed quis umquam tuorum mihi dixit esse, cui darem, quin dederim? aut quid mihi iucundius, quam, cum coram tecum loqui non possim, aut scribere ad te aut tuas legere litteras? Illud magis mihi solet esse molestum, tantis me impediri occupationibus, ut ad te scribendi meo arbitratu facultas nulla detur. Non enim te epistulis, sed voluminibus lacesserem, quibus quidem me a te provocari oportebat. Quamvis enim occupatus sis, oti tamen plus habes; aut, si ne tu quidem vacas, noli impudens esse, nec mihi molestiam

time, and wrote to you about it when the circumstances were fresh. But enough of this.

I beg you again and again, my dear Cornificius, to 3
regard all Lamia's business affairs as mine, and be careful to make him feel that this recommendation has been of the greatest service to him. You can do nothing that would give me greater pleasure. Take care of your health.

XXX

CICERO TO THE SAME

Rome, later than June 8th, 43 B.C.

So that's it? Except litigants, nobody ever brings 1
you a letter from me? Well, it is true that there are heaps of such letters, since you have managed to make everybody believe that, unless he has a letter from me, he has brought no recommendation to you; but what friend of yours has ever told me there was anybody to entrust a letter to, but that I did so? Or what could give me greater pleasure, failing a *tête-à-tête* talk with you, than either to write to you, or to read a letter of yours? What often annoys me still more is my being tied up with such pressing engagements that I find it impossible to write to you when the spirit moves me. For it is not with epistles so much as with volumes that I should provoke you to retaliation, though it is by such means that you ought to have challenged me first, seeing that, however busy you have been, you have more leisure than I, or if you have no time either, do show some sense of decency, and don't keep worrying me and brusquely

exhibere, et a me litteras crebriores, quum tu mihi
2 raro mittas, flagitare. Nam cum antea distinebar maximis occupationibus, propterea quod omnibus curis rempublicam mihi tuendam putabam, tum hoc tempore multo distineor vehementius. Ut enim gravius aegrotant ii, qui, quum levati morbo viderentur, in eum de integro inciderunt, sic vehementius nos laboramus, qui, profligato bello ac paene sublato, renovatum bellum gerere cogamur. Sed
3 haec hactenus. Tu tibi, mi Cornifici, fac ut persuadeas, non esse me tam imbecillo animo, ne dicam inhumano, ut a te vinci possim aut officiis, aut amore. Non dubitabam equidem: verumtamen multo mihi notiorem amorem tuum effecit Chaerippus. O hominem, semper illum quidem mihi aptum, nunc vero etiam suavem! Vultus mehercule tuos mihi expressit omnes, non solum animum ac verba pertulit. Itaque noli vereri, ne tibi succensuerim, quod eodem exemplo ad me, quo ad ceteros. Requisivi equidem proprias ad me unum a te litteras; sed
4 neque vehementer et amanter. De sumptu, quem te in rem militarem facere et fecisse dicis, nihil sane possum tibi opitulari, propterea quod et orbus senatus,

[a] See note *b* on xii. 22. 4.
[b] "Differing therein from you." *Cf.* § 1 fin.

insisting upon my writing often, when you yourself so seldom write to me.

The fact is that, distracted as I have hitherto been 2
by the most important engagements, because I considered that my every thought should be for the protection of the Republic, I am at the present moment far more gravely distracted than ever. Just as those who have had a relapse, when they thought they had recovered from a disease, are more seriously ill than ever, so are we more poignantly distressed, seeing that, after the war had been practically finished and all but done with, we are forced to deal with a renewal of it. But no more of this.

You, my dear Cornificius, must assure yourself 3
that I am not so feeble, not to say unfeeling, as to permit myself to be outdone by you either in acts of kindness, or in the affection that prompts them. It is true that I never doubted it, but none the less your affection has been much more definitely impressed upon me by Chaerippus.[a] What a man he is! I always found him congenial, but now he fascinates me. He did more than convey to me your thoughts and words; I swear to you, there was not a single expression of your face that he did not make vivid to me. So you need not be afraid that I was angry with you for having written to me just as you would to anybody else; though I have certainly looked for a letter for my own private eye alone, but without rude or unamiable insistence.[b]

As to the expense you say you are incurring and 4
have incurred for military purposes, I can render you absolutely no assistance at all, for the reason that the Senate is orphaned by the loss of its consuls, and the

consulibus amissis, et incredibiles angustiae pecuniae publicae, quae conquiritur undique, ut optime meritis militibus promissa solvantur; quod quidem fieri sine
5 tributo posse non arbitror. De Attio Dionysio nihil puto esse, quoniam mihi nihil dixit Tratorius. De P. Lucceio nihil tibi concedo, quo studiosior tu sis, quam ego sum. Est enim nobis necessarius. Sed a magistris cum contenderem de proferendo die, probaverunt mihi sese, quo minus id facerent, et compromisso et iureiurando impediri. Quare veniendum arbitror Lucceio. Quamquam, si meis litteris obtemperavit, cum tu haec leges, illum Romae esse
6 oportebit. Ceteris de rebus, maximeque de pecunia, cum Pansae mortem ignorares, scripsisti, quae per nos ab eo consequi te posse arbitrarere. Quae te non fefellissent, si viveret; nam te diligebat. Post mortem autem eius quid fieri posset, non videbamus.
7 De Venuleio, Latino, Horatio, valde laudo. Illud non nimium probo, quod scribis, quo illi animo aequiore ferrent, te tuis etiam legatis lictores ad-

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[a] See note *b* on xii. 24. 3.

[b] See note *c* on xii. 23. 1.

[c] See note *b* on xii. 25B. 6.

[d] A *compromissum* was an agreement between two parties to refer the matter in dispute to an arbiter, and to abide by his decision (Long on *Verr.* ii. 27 § 66). It would seem that Lucceius had made such an agreement, but that the arbiter had decided against any postponement; he had, therefore, to appear on the appointed day.

money in the public treasury is incredibly scarce—money that is being called in from every quarter to fulfil the promise made to the troops who have served the State so well; and I do not think that can be done without imposing a property-tax.

As for the affair of Attius Dionysius,[a] I do not think 5
there is anything in it, since Tratorius[b] told me nothing about it. As regards P. Lucceius,[c] I do not yield to you at all as being any more devoted than I am; he is an intimate friend of mine. But when I applied to the liquidators for a postponement, they convinced me that they were prevented from granting one, both by the agreement[d] arrived at, and by the terms of their oath. I am therefore of opinion that Lucceius should appear. And indeed, if he has complied with my letters, when you read these words he ought to be in Rome.

In reference to all the other matters, you wrote in 6
ignorance of Pansa's death, and particularly in reference to the money which you thought you might obtain from him through me. In none of these things would you have been disappointed, were he alive; for he had a high regard for you. Now he is dead, however, I do not see what can be done.

As to Venuleius, Latinus, and Horatius,[e] I heartily 7
applaud your action. I am not, however, effusive in my commendation of what you say in your letter—that to take the sting out of *their* humiliation, you have deprived even your own legates of their lictors;

[e] Nothing is known of these three men. They may have been, as Tyrrell thinks, the legates left at Utica by Calvisius when he returned to Rome (see note on xii. 25A. 2), or, as Mommsen thinks, some unimportant senators who had been granted lictors.

emisse. Honore enim digni cum ignominia dignis non erant comparandi; eosque ex senatus consulto, si non decedunt, cogendos, ut decedant, existimo. Haec fere ad eas litteras, quas eodem exemplo binas accepi. De reliquo velim tibi persuadeas non esse mihi meam dignitatem tua cariorem.

you see, men who deserve distinction should not have been put on a level with men who deserve to be disgraced; and I really think, that in accordance with the decree of the Senate, those three, if they do not quit the province, should be compelled to do so. This is a reply, roughly speaking, to the letter I received in duplicate. For the rest, I should like you to assure yourself that my own political position is not more precious to me than is yours.

CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF THE LETTERS based on the order fixed in R. Y. Tyrrell and L. C. Purser, *The Correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero*, vol. vii., Dublin, 1901 (by kind permission of the Board of Trinity College, Dublin).

ABBREVIATIONS

A = *Epistulae ad Atticum.*
F = *Epistulae ad Familiares.*
Q.Fr. = *Epistulae ad Quintum Fratrem.*
Br. = *Epistulae ad M. Brutum.*

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